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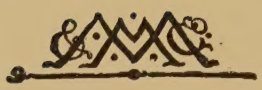
ORIGINS OF EDUCATION AMONG PRIMITIVE PEOPLES



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AN INTELLIGENT WEST AFRICAN BABY.
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TEARS.

A RELUCTANT SUBJECT (WEST AFRICAN).
(Photo : N. W. Thomas.)

ORIGINS OF EDUCATION AMONG PRIMITIVE PEOPLES

A Comparative Study in Racial Development

BY

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WITH A PREFACE BY

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(*of Sarawak*)

AUTHOR OF "THE PAGAN TRIBES OF BORNEO," ETC.

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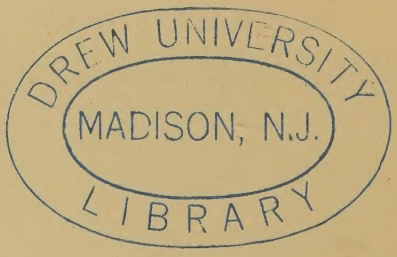

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TO
MY WIFE AND JEAN

HARNED FUND

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With this research, as in all my anthropological work, I have been encouraged by Dr. R. R. Marett, H. Balfour, Esq., F.R.S., and W. J. Perry, Esq., M.A. Dr. Charles Hose has devoted many hours to discussion, during which he gave me detailed accounts of his unrivalled ethnological and administrative experience in the jungles of Borneo, in addition to making many valuable suggestions relating to subject matter and arrangement.

When I decided that illustrations were essential for both the academic and general reader, the task of collation was one that might gladly have been avoided on account of the world-wide scope of my survey. Under the photographs will be found a detailed and grateful recognition of the Publishers, Scientific Institutions and Authors who have so generously come to my aid.

To my publishers, Messrs. Macmillan and Co., Ltd., I am indebted for a liberal view of the importance of pictures, footnotes, and a comprehensive bibliography.

W. D. Hambly.

PREFACE

"WHAT is Truth?" said Pilate, jesting. "What is Education?" might be a question with almost similar implications. The high philosophy of Europe and Asia that deals with the enigmas of human existence, the wonderful discoveries which are the result of the highest scientific training, the ancient lore of the Chinese, the spartan ways of the North American Indian, the initiation of the Bornean youth into methods of warfare, the art of poisoning arrows taught by the Bushmen, and the initiation of males into the mysteries of medicine-men and of women into the rites of priestesses would all come more or less under the generic name of Education. It might, indeed, be considered as the gradual acquisition of all human knowledge, if that were possible, by any individual, and the more highly a man is educated the more he is supposed to have acquired of such universal learning. But the term is usually more restricted in intent, and the word is intended to denote the acquisition and development of such mental and physical qualities as will fit a person for his activities and his life pursuits. The object of Mr. W. D. Hambly's volume is to draw attention to the customs and ideals of primitive races in this connection, and to show how, in their crude and at first sight unintelligible rites, there lie ideas and purposes that fit in with their conception of life at the time. Each generation has its own view of life, limited by time and space, and prolonged isolation may have caused developments in body and mind that may

occasionally seem strange and inexplicable. The researches into this branch of study have now provided us with so much information regarding the history of man and his social habits and religious beliefs, that the time is fast approaching when some generalisations can be made as to the origins and development of the many diverse peoples and races of mankind. The geologist, the archæologist, the anthropologist and the historian are all at work, and the results of their labours will doubtless lead to a coherent story of the evolution of man, with all his characteristics, and the modifications or peculiarities that are the result of prolonged severance from contact with other groups of his species.

In the early days man lived more or less as other animals lived, maintaining himself in equilibrium with the natural forces of his environment. Conditions of climate, accidents, disease, and other animals were natural foes which kept down his numbers, but his weakness in some respects developed mental ingenuity and encouraged versatility. He thus more than held his own with nature and gradually learned to adapt even nature to his needs. From the lowest types that lived on the natural products of the soil, man developed into making implements with which he tilled the soil, cleared the bush, felled forests and diverted streams. This added to the production of food and meant a consequent increase of population. Then came the evolution of housing conditions, with the establishment of villages and cities which required the social organisation of the complex form known as civilisation.

Even man's own physical characteristics have been changed by his environment and conditions of life. It is only recently that science has made nature unlock some of her secrets, one of which shows that within the human body itself there exists an elaborate mechanism for regulating its development and growth. There are a number of

glands which exercise a peculiar influence on the growth of the body and brain. In these glands are produced substances called hormones which in minute quantities are passed into the circulating blood, where they exercise a regulating or controlling influence on growth and form. Disorderly action of these glands may create disturbances of growth from the production of giants to that of dwarfs, as well as the alteration of the pigmentation of the skin, of the texture of the hair and of the facial features. Further, as Sir Arthur Keith suggests, it is highly probable that certain elements in food, known as vitamines, can act on and alter the hormone mechanism which controls growth and determines racial characteristics.

It will thus be seen that environment, especially in the way of food, may have much to do with the colour, facial form and other characteristics of the different races of mankind, such as the Negroid, the Mongoloid and the Caucasoid.

The earliest form of practical education, after the child was fully weaned, was probably in connection with hunting. The paternal hunter of primitive times was doubtless proud of introducing his willing offspring into the mysteries of the chase, where qualities of observation, and of vision, as well as a knowledge of the habits of animals were instilled into the mind of the youth. The urgent necessity of obtaining food as well as the advisability of avoiding danger were strong inducements for the acquisition of knowledge at the most receptive time of a child's life. The importance of this practical school can easily be realised, and probably the young Kayan of Borneo and the youthful scalp-hunter of the Iroquois would outrival the trained scoutmaster of to-day in the essential elements of woodcraft. These were, of course, the days quaintly recalled by the poet, " When wild in wood the noble savage ran."

Longfellow in " Hiawatha " realised this when he wrote :

" Many things Nokomis taught him
Of the stars that shine in heaven ;
Showed him Ishkoodah, the comet,
Ishkoodah, with fiery tresses ;
Showed the Death-Dance of the spirits,
Warriors with their plumes and war-clubs,
Flaring far away to northward
In the frosty nights of Winter ;
Showed the broad, white road in heaven,
Pathway of the ghosts, the shadows,
Running straight across the heavens,
Crowded with the ghosts, the shadows."

A great deal of the education of primitive youth was done by the way of parental example and the issuing of warnings. Let us, for example, take the case of a youth of Borneo who enters a district for the first time to collect jungle produce. At the landing place he makes an offering to the protecting spirit, of an egg placed in a cleft stick on the banks of a river, while a prayer is delivered by one of the elders of the party that evil may not befall him. He is then cautioned against drinking water from the river and is restricted to water baled from the bottom of the boat, even though indifferently pure. He must sleep in a sitting posture, and refrain among other things from smoking and from eating the head of a fish or any portion of deer flesh. In this way the youth is taught to be on his guard, to be obedient and to restrain his inclinations, as well as to carry on the traditions of his forefathers. Though the methods of the procedure may seem crude, the general objects and aims of the parents, as far as their lights permit, are not dissimilar from those of more advanced races. While we caution our children against mistaking toadstools for mushrooms, they advise their children to watch what the hornbill or other birds eat and to consider only such fruits safe if they have no elders to consult.

There are many customs among primitive races that

have often some reason behind them based on experience. For instance, in Borneo, and the same applied more or less to the Zulus, it was the custom to cast away in the jungle the weaker of twins. The female was discarded rather than the male and the weaker if both were boys. The underlying idea was to prevent the risk of contracting disease that might be avoidable in the case of a single child, as the protective deities were considered in danger of having their attention divided by the dual personalities.

The author rightly recommends the exercise of caution in the administration of primitive peoples. Old customs that have become part of the life habits of a race should not be suppressed unless positively harmful or immoral, and, even when they have to be suppressed, as in the case of head hunting, endeavours should be made to introduce substitute activities that would employ this energy in more beneficial channels or harmless pursuits. Similarly in education, the qualities of acute observation and knowledge of nature which are as a rule highly developed in the children of primitive races should find a place in the curriculum as well as other subjects of instruction and the inculcation of morals which will tend to their gradual uplifting in the scale of civilisation.

Mr. Hambly has served a useful purpose by collating, summarising and discussing the historical setting of these primitive customs and ideas. The information which he has collated from so many sources, together with the views of various authorities on the subject of educating backward races, will be pleasing for the general reader. What is more, it will be of special service to the missionary, social reformer and administrator among undeveloped peoples.

CHARLES HOSE.

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ORIGINS OF EDUCATION AMONG PRIMITIVE PEOPLES

AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION

(1) Education of backward races in regard to morality, social concepts, handicrafts.—(2) Racial decline, Maternity and Child Welfare are problems of great urgency.—(3) HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS. Discussion of the view that Egypt was the cultural home of widely-distributed ideals and methods relating to: (*a*) Medicine Men and Magic. (*b*) Moral precepts taught at initiation. (*c*) Initiation of Boys and Girls. (*d*) Priestesses and Temple service for Girls. (*e*) Secret Societies.

PREFATORY remarks in the form of an apologia are unnecessary for the introduction of a work concerned alike with certain academical aspects and practical applications of methods within the scope of social anthropology. The moral obligations implied by extension of Empire, coupled with a general admission that solidarity is dependent on mutual understanding and reciprocal good-will, are justification for an attempt to embody in convenient form a review of salient points concerning the physical, mental, and moral evolution of unsophisticated races. The aim of this work is to make an historical and regional survey of customs of primitive races with special reference to moral, religious, physical and social education, in so far as it has been developed without intrusion of European influence. The hope is entertained that this collation and discussion, dealing as it does with a world-wide distribution of primitive people, will provide administrators, missionaries and others with an anthropological basis adequate for a

detailed consideration of the restricted field in which they may labour.

National apathy toward so pressing a problem is deplored by leading anthropologists; and political residents, leading sequestered lives among primitive races in outposts of Empire, are not less unanimous in urging the provision of an Imperial Institute, which may do justice to vital problems of sociology, comparative religions and economic welfare. Recently published books dealing with historical and geographical instruction show a happy tendency more strongly to emphasise humanistic aspects of the school curriculum, but in this direction there is ample room for expansion. Among missionaries there have been first-rate pioneer anthropologists and the vandalism of mid-Victorian enthusiasts is out of date. There is for Theologians and Social Reformers of the Modern School a broad horizon in problems of social anthropology, and the practical importance of exploration in this field is emphasised by Sir J. G. Frazer in unmistakable terms: "Without some knowledge of the natives' point of view it is impossible to govern him wisely and well. . . . The savage way of thinking is highly complex and cannot be understood without long and patient study. . . . To legislate for savages on European principles of law and morality, even when the legislator is inspired by none but the most benevolent intentions, is always dangerous and not seldom disastrous" (C. W. Hobley, "Bantu Beliefs and Magic," Introduction). This is true, but perhaps not all the truth, and it is well to bear in mind the words of Dr. Charles Hose:[1] "We have no hesitation in saying that, the more intimately one becomes acquainted with these pagan tribes of Borneo, the more fully one realises the close similarity of their mental processes to one's own. Their primary impulses and emotions seem to be in all respects like our own."

[1] "Pagan Tribes of Borneo," vol. 2, p. 222.

Preparation for work of investigation is an essential of success, and no amount of spiritual enthusiasm alone is an adequate substitute. There is distinct encouragement in the report of Mr. C. W. Hobley that " the more intelligent elders respond to inquiry into their beliefs once they are convinced that it is undertaken in the proper spirit, and nothing convinces them so much of the bona fides of our administrative intention as a sympathetic study of their customs, and a demonstration of one's knowledge of them."

There is a disparity of competent opinion respecting methods of treatment and possibilities of development in the intellects of primitve communities,[1] and such diversity of view exists after exclusion of extremist opinion which may be concerned merely with exploitation of native labour, or with a rashly benevolent and ultra-liberal idealism. Such diverse views will rightly form material for detailed discussion, but it should be borne in mind that successful management of, and co-operation with native races is dependent on careful scrutiny of sociological conditions in relation to any limited area under treatment, and the main aim of this work is the provision of a correct and ample anthropological background which shall serve as a practical guide to more detailed regional work. There are both practical and academic interests inseparable from an attempt to disclose the origin and follow the tortuous paths of migration, development, or decline of educational ideals and methods. It is unlikely that such methods and ideals as exist to-day in social groups at all cultural levels have arisen repeatedly and independently in all parts of the world. Similarity of emotion assists migration of ideas, and it may be true that the individual has a subconscious race memory, also that personal development in a measure recapitulates the psychic life of ancestral groups. The study of social anthropology should therefore be of peculiar interest to

[1] W. McDougall, address to British Association, Toronto, 1924.

educationists. In many phases of growth a child of to-day is actuated by self-assertion and curiosity which the educator strives to build up into complex and stable sentiments serviceable to the community. A proportion of cases of juvenile delinquency is explicable on the evolutionary hypothesis, and various Borstal and other similar institutions have demonstrated the practicability of creating useful citizens of sturdy pioneer type from material which a few years ago was relegated to the so-called " criminal classes."

There appears in the Colonial Office Report on Ashanti for 1921 a section from the investigating anthropologist, Captain Rattray, who states that the area is at the parting of the ways.

" One path leads, I believe, to the unrest and ferment we see on every hand among the peoples whose institutions we have either deliberately broken down or as deliberately allowed to decay. The other path at least leads to some surer hope because it has landmarks which the genius of the people will recognise and which will keep them upon the road when in difficulties. . . . Among the younger generation there is a tendency to ridicule the past. A youth who has passed the 5th, 6th or 7th standard, and who by clerical work earns a few pounds a month, who is dressed in European garb, in his heart despises his own institutions, and his own illiterate elders. But he takes his cue from the European, whom his end-all and be-all is to copy. I firmly believe that once the Government and Political Officers are seen to take more interest in his ancient customs, and are known to encourage such customs and institutions as are good, the younger generation will themselves follow suit and come to realise that they should not throw away their priceless heritage."

Educability.—A concensus of expert opinion respecting the educability of backward races is on the whole favourable to the thesis that these may be led to play a not inconsiderable

part in the onward march of civilisation. The pessimist will, with admitted logic, call attention to the fact that intrusion of European influence into primitive Society not seldom marks a decline, possibly a rapid extinction of native races, supporting his theory by reference to Tasmanians, Polynesians, North American Indians and Melanesians. That the loss of the Tasmanians, though regrettable to the archæologist and ethnographer, is no detriment to the progress of civilisation is an argument of some cogence. But without question there are in the remnants of Maori and North American Indian peoples physical, mental, and moral endowments of no mean order. In the Negro population of Africa there is a stupendous amount of industrial capacity and artistic skill, which calls for enlightened treatment if its latent potentialities are to be fully realised.[1]

The problems involved are at once physical, psychological and social. The late Dr. Rivers[2] called attention to the decline of native races in connection with these factors, and inclined to the view that introduction of European habits of dress and nutrition; intrusion of European diseases; likewise native customs of abortion and infanticide do not suffice to account for unfavourable expectation of life among primitive people. Psychological and social factors may be paramount in determining racial declivity, for unfortunately under foreign influence the native too frequently finds himself deprived of those social customs, and that psychological environment, which have proved the mainstay of his existence. Captain Rattray emphasises the importance of incorporating what is worthy in native

[1] W. C. Willoughby, "Race Problems in the New Africa," Oxford, 1923, p. 173. External anglicising of the Bantu a mistake. Ch. IX. Comparison of Revolutionary and Evolutionary Education.

[2] W. H. R. Rivers, "The Dying Out of Native Races," *Lancet*, 1920, vol. cxcviii, pp. 42–109; also "Essays on Depopulation of Melanesia," 1921, and "Science and the Nation," 1917.

tradition with such social, political and religious reforms as are deemed expedient in " developing " Ashanti.[1] Cureau [2] agrees with Rattray in stating that the Negro admits the superiority of the white race and on this account is urged to seek equality by adoption of European dress, manners and ways of speaking, meanwhile disdaining his native lineage and throwing away the priceless heritage of certain sound customs and traditions. Cureau strikes a pessimistic strain in alleging that primitive races in the French Congo are, and always will be, creatures of routine. " The ideas instilled into him remain sterile, for beneath his fleeting memory and superficial understanding they do not find those subconscious but fertilising elements which constitute genius and talent, or plain but real intelligence," [3] is true no doubt under a system which, forgetful of the etymology of " educate," seeks *not* " to lead out," but rather to impose a stereotyped pattern of European morals, religious views and minor conventions.

To do this is to build on a foundation of sand. Sir J. G. Frazer [4] states that abolition of old moral restraints without substitution of any other principles is " always dangerous, and not seldom disastrous," a view amply corroborated by Chinnery,[5] Murray,[6] Temple,[7] Partridge,[8] and Haddon.[9]

A hopeful forecast for educational work in Fiji is made by Lieut.-Colonel T. R. St. Johnston (1921).[10] After

[1] Colonial Office Report on Ashanti, 1921.

[2] A. L. Cureau, " Savage Man in Central Africa," a study of Primitive Races in the French Congo, 1915, p. 73 (English translation, E. Andrews).

[3] Cureau, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

[4] C. W. Hobley, Introduction to " Bantu Beliefs and Magic," 1922.

[5] E. W. P. Chinnery, " The Application of Anthropological Methods to Tribal Development in New Guinea " *J.A.I.*, vol. xlix, 1919, p. 36.

[6] J. H. P. Murray, " Review of the Australian Administration in Papua from 1907–1920."

[7] Sir Richard Temple, " Anthropology as a Practical Science " (1914).

[8] C. Partridge, " Cross River Natives," p. 17.

[9] A. C. Haddon, " Practical Value of Ethnology."

[10] " The Islanders of the Pacific," pp. 10–12.

deploring the zest which mid-Victorian missionary enterprise showed in razing native monuments, and (rightly) alluding with humour to a missionary's pleasure in observing his converts "wearing neat and tasteful bonnets," the author remarks on the growing native immunity from imported European diseases, and concludes with the opinion that, "If the natives are given their chance they can increase, and can be made good and useful citizens, who are an asset to the Empire."

Certain tribes of Western New Guinea are described by W. N. Beaver [1] as being "intelligent and capable of sustained effort." Of the genuine desire for education he is not so sanguine, thinking that the request made by natives of Parama and Mawatta for European schools is merely an expression of jealousy toward islanders of Torres Straits, where such schools exist.

The essentials of success in investigation of primitive society are well outlined by Professor F. Boas,[2] whose chief axiom is that of sympathetic insight and imaginative penetration into the subconscious mind of primitive man. The student should at the outset "divest himself entirely of opinions and emotions based on the peculiar social environment into which he is born." Boas agrees with Rivers [3] that primitive man is logical in many respects, but starts from different hypotheses. Boas withholds judgment respecting the educability of primitive man, opining that "we are unable at the present time to form a just valuation of the hereditary mental powers of the different races." [4] Professor W. McDougall's address to a joint meeting of psychologists and anthropologists at the British Association Meeting, Toronto, 1924, states that

[1] "Unexplored New Guinea," p. 298.

[2] "The Mind of Primitive Man," 1911, pp. 98 *et seq.*

[3] "Instinct and the Unconscious," p. 84; also *Hibbert Journal*, vol. x, 1912, p. 393, article, "The Primitive Conception of Death."

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 123.

there is no agreement among psychologists with regard to racial mental differences. A small disparity of sensory discrimination exists between Oceanic Negroes, Polynesians and Europeans. This small difference will not explain cultural divergence. Methods of intelligence-testing show definite racial differences in innate capacity to develop general intelligence. The Negro has a definitely lower endowment of general intelligence than the white man.

" We are not inclined therefore to consider the mental organisation of different races of man as differing in fundamental points. There is no reason to suppose that they are unable to reach the level of civilisation represented by the bulk of our own people." [1]

Such a review, despite its brevity, is generally favourable, not merely to the preservation, but alike to the educability of backward races, and the following evidence is adduced in order to illustrate the difficulties which will be encountered in adjusting primitive man, in a physical sense, to his new European environment.

Educational Difficulties.—So complete is the freedom of juveniles among primitive races that a casual traveller might reasonably incline to the opinion that children of so-called " savages " simply grow to maturity uninfluenced by forces which are likely to contribute to a sound moral and religious development.

With regard to physical culture and industrial training, it may be said that formative influences are easier to estimate than is the case when the investigator is dealing with mental and moral development. Determining factors of a religious and ethical kind are usually dependent on carefully guarded tribal traditions, inculcated by elders of the community, in secret, so that their power may not be negatived by the presence of women, children or curious strangers.[2]

[1] Boas, *op. cit.*, pp. 122–23.

[2] L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, " Kamilaroi and Kurnai," Brisbane, 1880, p. 197.

When considering the extent to which ideals of conduct prevail, it is essential to pay heed to actions rather than to descriptions of ultimate aims of training. The most skilful interpreter will have a difficulty in eliciting from primitive man a clear account of the objects of tribal discipline. On the other hand, acute observation of material evidence respecting the early lives of children, combined with a discerning attention to puberty rites, may reveal the existence of lofty thoughts which the savage can express only in crude and meagre fashion.[1]

The inquirer must approach the subject with sympathy, and to do so implies subordination, for the time, of all personal ideas and ideals concerning what is "good," "bad," "right" and "wrong." The question is not so much a matter of throwing the searchlight of one's own refinement on to the comparatively undeveloped moral and intellectual condition of primitive man, in order to express horror at the revelation, as a genuine desire to find whether the ideals and methods are educational for the particular organisation and evolutionary stage in which they are practised.

One might, for example, shrink from the horrors, and more than Spartan rigour, of the system of training suffered by North American Indians. Considered in the light of our modern ideals regarding physical culture, the whole process and practice of physical torture, such as one may find recorded in Catlins' "North American Indians,"[2] is abhorrent, but the true question is, Of what value was such a physical training to a people who depended entirely on the chase for a livelihood? Has the educational system a new meaning, when one considers that the tribesmen might at any moment have to undergo the utmost pain and

[1] C. Hill Tout, "Reports of Cambridge Anthrop. Exp. to Torres Strait," vol. iv, p. 208, and "British North America," London, 1907, pp. 47–9.

[2] G. Catlin, "North American Indians," London, 1866, vol. i, p. 173.

physical exertion in order to preserve their wigwams from total destruction by a bloodthirsty, scalp-hunting foe?

Similarly, the inquirer may reasonably look askance at a primitive code of morals, and ethical teaching which rules within the tribe only, while members of a neighbouring unit may have to suffer theft, slaughter and slavery, as there is no extension of the moral code which provides for the toleration of a probable enemy. The expansion of ethical systems toward recognition of the rights of other communities is a slow product of mental and moral evolution. Pugnacity may not be instinctive; possibly conflict represents a degradation of a higher moral relationship.[1] In view of recent events in Europe, few would be bold enough to claim that cultured races, who have enjoyed the benefit of Christian teaching for two thousand years, have attained any height of moral excellence from which they may patronisingly criticise the conduct of savage races.

Native Views on Education.—In the course of our inquiry we shall hear the elders of the tribe caution youths not to lie, not to steal, not to do murder within the tribe; and in all such instances one realises the importance of laying hold of existing schemes of moral training which can be extended and strengthened by departments of education which, under the administration of our Colonial and Foreign Offices, are achieving such excellent results in Nigeria and the Sudan. Hence the subject of inquiry, in common with many investigations within the sphere of Social Anthropology, has a clear practical application, inasmuch as it aims at supplying the educationist and administrator with a foundation on which a more elaborate educational and ethical system can with safety be superimposed.

When primitive man shows educational ideals respecting colour, form, manipulative skill in wood-carving, metal-

[1] W. J. Perry, "Neurological Basis of Human Behaviour in Society," Manchester Univ. Press, 1923.

working, basketry or weaving, let such nascent tendencies be fostered and trained to their full productive capacity. When there are ideals in music and dancing, let our educational systems select what is best for the moral and intellectual development of the Society, afterwards continuing to nurture the refined elements, while gradually eradicating what is gross and sensual. May our legal codes embody what is best in the religious and ethical systems of the people, here preserving, and there eliminating, until primitive educational ideals respecting duty, moral obligation, and the rights of individuals and social units have blended into a congruous system of ethics, which has almost unconsciously been evolved from what the primitive code supplied.

Factors in the Problem.—A consideration of the vast subject of primitive ideals with regard to juvenile training has its logical commencement in a study of the conditions of childbirth. What are the spiritual and material cares of the expectant mother? Does she in any way recognise the importance of the months of pregnancy? And if so, in what way? Are there any spiritual forces surrounding the child at birth? How may such forces be placated, or, better still, their active co-operation secured? What are the physical conditions conducive to successful parturition, and what efforts does the mother make to comply with such conditions? Passing from the consideration of pre-natal life and care of the mother, we shall have to note the ideas of primitive people concerning abortion, childbirth ceremonies, magical protection of offspring, treatment of twins, care of mentally defective children and infanticide. Education begins with life in the cradle; what efforts are made to secure physical beauty according to prevalent tribal ideals? What are the methods of carrying and weaning, and to what extent are these conducive to physical fitness?

On arriving at a point where the child ventures forth to

enlarge the circle of his acquaintances, a new series of questions confronts the investigator. What is the educational value of play among children of primitive races? And in what manner do the games, music or dances contribute to a healthy moral and intellectual development? Has primitive man any opinion concerning the value of co-education of the sexes?—at present a subject on which modern educationists are by no means at accord. To what extent do boys and girls unite in play, and when is such union discouraged? How is the time of boys and girls employed in a semi-serious attempt to learn agricultural work, domestic arts, hunting, fishing and warfare? Has their play an important bearing on the more serious work of later years? In other words, do the occupations of early childhood prepare the subject for successful co-operation in tribal life?

When the age of puberty is reached, what distinctive systems of training are applied to boys and girls, and what exactly are the results, both individually and socially, which these systems are calculated to achieve? The presence of special ceremonies initiating boys, and in some instances girls, into tribal fellowship, with attendant duties, responsibilities and privileges, is always of exceptional interest, for on such occasions the direct instructions of tribal elders are very enlightening with respect to the prevalence of a moral standard and the rigour of its enforcement.

Similar queries may be made *à propos* of the entry of girls into tribal life. Are there periods of seclusion in the bush? What preparation is made for the successful management of a home, the rearing of offspring and the tilling of the soil?—a task which, along with pottery-making, weaving and basketry, forms the daily routine of the somewhat overworked woman. Has the function of woman in tribal life been underrated by observers, and is her horizon likely to be extended?

In connection with the subject of training boys for special work of a skilled nature, one is naturally led into a theme which is of rising importance in our own day and country, namely, the engrossing problems of psychic research and morbid psychology. Among people of elementary culture, say the Arunta of Central Australia,[1] or the Chukchee [2] of North-West Asia and the opposite coast, not to mention many other examples, there are specially skilled "Medicine men" who from their youth have cultivated a psychic faculty, which manifests itself in trance vision, healing by suggestion, combined with powers of divination. A youth showing any marked peculiarity of temperament is observed carefully by skilled medicine men of the tribe, who in all probability subject him to a course of instruction, during which he becomes the familiar of spirits, who teach him how to benefit his tribe by prophecy, by divination in order to detect delinquents, and further how to use material and magical means for the cure of common ailments. The details of such specialised education form a fascinating line of inquiry, especially in relation to recent discussion of Freudian hypotheses relating to the subconscious mind and its neuroses; for the novice is usually chosen on account of morbid neurotic tendencies which are exaggerated by training.

When endeavouring to appraise the value of moral training among primitive races there is every reason to consider the prevailing ethical standards which the pupil attains by unconscious effort and without any assistance from direct instruction. In every tribe there are traditional criteria of moral values, and as children are familiar with the punishments meted out to transgressors of tribal law and tradition, there is the constant fixation of ideas respect-

[1] B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, "Across Australia," London, 1912, vol. ii, pp. 334–336.
[2] M. A. Czaplicka, "Aboriginal Siberia," Oxford, 1914, p. 169.

ing the value of courage, purity, honesty and hospitality. Retribution for theft, adultery, cowardice and other moral failings is swift, exacting and possibly brutal, so that the elementary emotion of fear is constantly stimulated, hence by the time puberty is reached youth has a clear conception of tribal ideals of right and wrong; ideals which are still more firmly inculcated by direct instruction at special ceremonies of initiation into tribal fellowship.

Wandering in the village, the primitive child sees one of the tribesmen with a mutilated right hand, and on inquiring from his elders is told that the man suffered the penalty on account of repeated theft.[1] There is much excitement in the community; shouting of men, screaming of women and beating of drums are contributing to the general confusion. A man, gaily painted, steps forth to his trial by ordeal [2] for adultery, theft or murder. Children gaze with astonishment while the injured relatives hurl spears and boomerangs at the offender, or the accused drains the poison-cup or perchance carries the piece of heated iron. With the possible miscarriage of justice which such methods imply we are not concerned. There is the desire to attain and preserve a standard of moral excellence, and it is by observation and inquiry that children become impressed with the necessity for conforming to the moral standards of their social groups. Barbarous as such methods may be, we have to acknowledge that they form a very definite stage in the evolution of moral ideas, a stage through which our English and Norman ancestors passed in their trials by ordeal and combat, wherein appeal was made to a non-human power, whose aid was sought in dispensation of justice. This widespread idea of appeal is possibly not of independent origin, but may be one aspect of a series of

[1] A. C. Hollis, "The Nandi," Oxford, 1909, p. 75.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 76, and A. W. Howitt, "Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," London, 1904, p. 326.

moral and religious ideas which were associated with the "Negative Confession" of Ancient Egypt. Often the children of primitive people see the witch doctor at work, using his power of divination, in order to bring home the guilt of a thief or murderer.[1] Such scenes are impressive, and the juvenile mind will readily apprehend their import.

Among the Koita, a Melanesian people of British New Guinea,[2] there is at times a ceremony specially arranged when a murderer is handed over to the relatives of the murdered tribesman, in order to prevent the origin of a blood feud. The murderer retires to his house, where he ornaments and paints himself, while female relatives wail outside, and representatives from the injured tribe foregather near the homicide's hut, there to regale themselves with a feast of roast pig provided at the expense of the delinquent.

Dawn breaks; the murderer is stripped of his garments, taken by the right hand and led down the house-ladder, at the bottom of which the avenging party is assembled. The offended tribesmen, by way of reparation, spear and club their victim to death, then depart yelling war cries, and so primitive ideas of justice are satisfied. After witnessing such a scene there is not much need to impress on juvenile observers the advisability for some preliminary meditation before a murder is committed. It is an interesting paradox that the homicide who escapes retribution ornaments himself with a distinctive tattoo mark on the neck.

Unfortunately, the rich man in primitive society has an opportunity of escaping justice by expiating his offence of murder, theft or adultery, by the simple expedient of payment.[3] Herein lies the greatest weakness in the moral codes of savage races; but would there be any great difficulty

[1] Hollis's "The Nandi," p. 71.

[2] C. G. Seligman, "Melanesians of British New Guinea," London, 1910, p. 129.

[3] A. B. Ellis, "The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of W. Africa," London, 1890, p. 223.

in adducing instances of modern European investigations into crime which has gone unpunished because the wealthy delinquent was able to finance the ablest pleaders ?

Racial Decline.—The following survey of evidence will make clear the absolute necessity for investigation and reform of conditions relating to childbirth and infantile management. Mortality in the first year is a serious problem in this country, but the risks of infantile life among primitive races are truly appalling, owing to the ascendancy of ritual, useless prohibitions, and superstition, over elements of rational obstetric procedure. In no section of the field is the need for trained women investigators with medical qualifications more urgent.

In drawing together evidence which is of service to field workers concerned with infantile mortality, moralities, legal codes, religion and therapy, an academic problem concerning the origins and migrations of similar beliefs and practices is constantly forced upon the investigator. As a preface to the appropriate chapters, the main points of educational systems have been considered, and the possibility of their common origin has been discussed.

Many writers have been impressed with the similarity of ethical codes which they have sought to explain by reference to " innate moral dispositions " and " herd instincts." In Chapter V a comparison has been made of the relationship of moralities adopted by primitive races to the ethical requirements set forth in the " Book of the Dead " and the " Negative Confession." Trial by ordeal is possibly related to the judgment of righteousness in the Hall of Osiris ; and ideas of a difficult journey to heaven may arise from the Egyptian conception of a hazardous voyage, to be successfully completed only by formulæ and amulets.

The evidence suggests that initiation of all types has its origin in some single cycle of ideas such as those relating to initiation of priest kings of Egypt. In the sections con-

cerned with such types a detailed examination of the various kinds of initiation has been made. In all essential factors—notably transfer of "power" to novices by rubbing, blowing, hauling on a rope, exchange of blood; silence restriction, hardship, rebirth, change of name and reintroduction to society—the various types of initiation are in such agreement with each other that logic demands search for a common origin. Polynesian priesthoods, with their seminaries, hereditary offices, fund of historical and theological knowledge, inspiration from gods and oracular utterances, provide a close analogy to sacerdotal functions of Ancient Egypt. At this point we merely note queries and hypotheses, which require testing and elaborating along definite lines.

Initiation of medicine men and sons of chiefs, also reception of girls into temple service, and graduating in a secret society, approach most closely to their Egyptian prototype, especially in transfer of power, hereditary requirements, acquisition of social status and prestige, instruction in law, religious ritual, healing arts, and genealogies. Ordinary tribal initiation has derived from these special original types many factors whose main features are preserved. The initiation of girls into tribal life suggests a transfer of rites affecting boys from whose ceremonies circumcision, seclusion, instruction by a tutor, change of name, physical purging and re-introduction to society are possibly copied. Such is the view suggested by close correspondence of details in widely separated areas. Sir Herman Gollancz [1] has recently shown that nearly all modern theories on education are foreshadowed by the Talmud and subsequent Hebrew literature. I would press analogies still further, and, in accounting for widespread similarities of educational systems, have postulated their rise in some ancient centre of civilisation. As facts

[1] "Pedagogics of the Talmud and Those of Modern Times," 1924.

accumulate with regard to moral codes, magical practices, and "initiation," so does the hypothesis of common origin fulfil its main requirement of providing an explanation of customs which are otherwise irritating in their unaccountable similarity and wide distribution.

CHAPTER I

CHILD WELFARE AND THE DECLINE OF PRIMITIVE RACES

Section I. General Outline of the Problem.—Section II. The Pacific and India.—Section III. The American Continents.—Section IV. Africa.—Section V. Summary, Conclusions, and Bibliography for Chapter I.

Section I.—General Outline of the Problem

The fact is indisputable that when civilisation comes into contact with primitive races there is a strong tendency toward the extinction of the latter. Decline takes place even under well-meaning administration and quite apart from such abominations as have been practised in rubber-gathering areas of the Amazon and Congo.

At the Pan Pacific Congress of 1923 it was resolved that "The scientific problem of the Pacific which stands first in order of urgency is the preservation of the health and life of the native races by the application of the science of preventive medicine and anthropology."

In succeeding pages I have discussed the ethnological aspect of this problem with special reference to the Pacific, but have thought it well not to ignore other geographical areas in all of which there is a wastage of native life. No doubt each area presents problems peculiar to itself, but there is undeniable advantage in considering special cases in relation to the whole. The erection of schools of tropical medicine and equipment of missionaries with medical training is one aspect of this problem, but fundamental to the task of increasing the expectant life of adults is that of dealing with the more difficult question of an appalling infantile mortality. In confining inquiry and suggestion to this aspect of the difficulty other facts should not be

overlooked. Pioneers of civilisation have in many instances carried disease and intoxicants, twin evils, which have for years been at work decimating the population, before the legislator and philanthropist arrived. Natives die in large numbers from tuberculosis, influenza epidemics, and pulmonary affections caused by intermittent use of clothing. On the psychological side there is necessity for careful administration of laws which do not deal too drastically with native institutions. Some of these are of course inadmissible under a civilised control; but sufficient care has not been exercised in discriminating between what is positively pernicious and that which might be retained to preserve a favourable social and psychological environment.

In dealing with maternity and infantile welfare I have at the conclusion of this chapter summarised the details of the problem, and under such headings there should be preliminary collection of data relating to any particular area in which legislative or other reform is contemplated. If a large number of workers covering a wide area were able to make returns relating to the following points, these would provide a sound anthropological basis for future action. (1) Desire for children. (2) Preference for boys or girls. (3) Native ideas of conception and reincarnation with special reference to supernatural causes of pregnancy. (4) Care of the expectant mother, work and food restrictions. (5) Isolation before delivery, *modus operandi* of native midwives, use of charms and spells. (6) Restrictions on the father. (7) Infanticide, including views respecting twins, posthumous children, fate of a child whose mother dies during delivery, exposure of children, deformed children, prolonged lactation, period of separation from husband, sacrifice of children. (8) Care of infants, massage, etc., at birth, feeding infants with banana, rice and similar foods, chewing of food by the mother, who uses strong tobacco, then transfers the food to her infant.

(9) Naming of children, discipline, play. (10) Care of the mother after delivery, time of resuming work. (11) Sex ratio, polygyny and polyandry. (12) Abortion.

There would be a great advantage in each large area having a central school of anthropology which might form a department in an ethnological museum, school of tropical medicine or missionary training college. Short courses of study should be arranged for workers home on leave, and the institution, by correspondence, training of workers, collection and sifting of evidence, and supplying trained investigators, would fully justify the claims of ethnology as a practical science. The training of women workers is desirable in relation to this problem of infantile mortality, for such investigators would be of great service in social, administrative and medical field work. In the Pacific area various Governments, notably France, America, Japan and Great Britain, are responsible administrators. These nations should be financially and politically interested in ethnological work, desirous of appointing trained workers of both sexes, and should be in all ways willing to co-operate in adapting legislation to local ethnological requirements.

Before commencing a detailed survey of this problem of infantile mortality and decline of native populations, the presentation of a few facts and figures from recent returns made by Government departments will prove enlightening.

Tasmanians became extinct in 1872 after a long guerilla warfare, which resulted in removal of survivors to an adjacent island. The Maoris made a determined resistance to British intervention, and many disputes might have been saved by a better understanding of native customs, especially those relating to heraldry, possession of land and its transfer. Figures given by Cowan [1] show the Maoris to be once more

[1] "The Maoris of New Zealand," Wellington, 1910, p. 21, and "Birth Control among the New Zealand Maoris," R. Firth, *Nature*, Nov. 21st, 1925, p. 747.

on the increase, but the number of half-castes is likewise advancing.

MAORI POPULATION.

1867 approximate estimate . .	38,540
1871 „ „ . .	37,502
1874 first census . . .	45,470
1878	43,595
1881	44,097
1886	41,969
1891	41,993
1896	39,854
1901	43,143
1906	47,731
1924 ("Statesman's Year Book") .	54,020 [1]

The figures for 1906 represent the most accurate census return and indicate that the decay has been stayed.

Figures relating to native tribes of Australia [2] are not available for all States, and as a rule estimates only are given in official publications. In the whole Commonwealth there are probably 60,000 full-blooded aboriginals. In Victoria the figures for native population in 1901, 1911, 1921 are 652, 643, 573 respectively, showing a still declining remnant of what must have been at one time a flourishing native population. In Queensland there probably remain 20,000 natives. The number of full-blooded aboriginals in South Australia has been estimated at 1,609. Living in a wild state beyond the reach of civilisation, there are many more.

The number of pure Hawaiians [3] is declining, being 29,799, 26,041 and 23,723 in 1900, 1910 and 1920. Japanese apparently do not intermarry with foreigners to

[1] No information as to racial purity.
[2] "Statesman's Year Book," 1924, pp. 339, 365, 373, 381.
[3] Fourteenth Census of U.S.A., 1920.

any extent, but there is considerable hybridising of Hawaiians with Chinese, Koreans, Philipino and Latin European races. The negro element in the population is almost negligible, being only about 0·1% in 1920. The growth of Honolulu since 1890, likewise of Hilo City, show the rapid infiltration of many racial elements, possibly also a steady drift of native Hawaiians from rural to urban areas.

	Year.	Population. (nearest thousand).
Honolulu	1890	23
	1900	39
	1910	52
	1920	83
Hilo City	1910	7
	1920	10·5

In the Loyalty Islands there is a high birth-rate of ten or twelve children to each married woman, but, owing partly to the quantity and quality of medicines given—for all children whether weak or strong are lavishly dosed—and partly to lack of observance of hygienic laws, only a small portion of these children reach maturity.[1] "A marked feature of the present day is the serious fall in the birth-rate of native families of every class."[2] In this locality, as in many others, reformers need to pay attention to care of expectant mothers. Hadfield states that months before delivery the woman is subject to cruel, painful and humiliating treatment, including a forced diet of charcoal and clay. Nurses and female friends retire with the expectant mother to the bush. Attaching a rope to a tree and allowing the woman to pull is normal to assist delivery, but if labour is prolonged the wife is scolded, insulted, struck in the face and told she is lacking in courage. Should labour be

[1] E. Hadfield, "Among the Natives of The Loyalty Group," London, 1920.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 182.

further prolonged, imaginary sins have to be confessed.[1] Treatment of the newly-born is more rational, as it includes washing and gentle massage with soft wood ash.[2] Gustave Regelsperger estimates that in 1860 there were 60,000 Canaques, or Melanesian negroes, while in 1921 there were but 27,100. Abortion and infanticide are rife, female children are often buried alive, because males are greatly preferred by the father. After dealing with New Caledonia and the New Hebrides, Regelsperger gives a more hopeful outlook for Tahiti, where decline is not impressively rapid.

Year.	Native Population.
1829	8,568
1848	8,157
1857	7,212
1862	10,347
1887	9,282
1900	11,220
1907	8,588
1911	7,489

In the Wallis Archipelago (13° 20′ South, 178° 30′ West) there is a pure Polynesian population, and prohibition of alcohol has permitted the native population to increase. Causes of decline in population are so numerous and complex that investigators should accept with caution the emphasis of any one factor. Careful analysis is required of *all* factors associated with an increase and *all* factors accompanied by a decrease of population. In Uvea there were 3,000 indigenous people when the first missionary arrived; this number has increased to 4,500.[3]

[1] Hadfield's "Among the Natives of The Loyalty Group," p. 175.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 177.
[3] Regelsperger, Gustav, and E. Pelleray, "Notre Domaine Colonial, L'Oceanie Française," published from 20, Rue de Mogador, Paris.

A British Colonial Office Report for the Solomons in 1921–22 states that: "Owing to lack of transport accurate returns of population have not been obtained. On some islands a careful record of births and deaths has been made. Most instances show diminishing birth-rate, the most marked being in San Cristoval. Depopulation is due largely to lack of medical staff to cope with influenza and dysentery." [1]

The British Colonial Office Report for 1921–22 relating to the New Hebrides states that decline of native population, which is Polynesian and Melanesian, has not been so rapid as some writers have claimed. Decline cannot be disputed, and it is due to intermarriage which reduces fertility, infanticide, disease, and recruiting labour in early years. Figures are available to show that in some southern islands the decline is slower now than in the last century: [2]

Aneityum.		Erromanga.		Tanna.	
1859	3,513	1859	5,000	1859	15,000
1874	1,482	1878	1,000	1873	8,000
1878	1,279	1910	800	(50% decrease)	
1910	400.				

A recent writer, referring to the Ipi of Western New Guinea, states that infanticide is regarded as a social duty for preservation of a good physical standard. The weaker of twins is buried alive.[3]

Diversity of opinion respecting causes of decline show the need for careful scrutiny of evidence. F. W. Christian discusses the case for the Marquesas, where decay of native population has been exceptionally rapid. Has there been

[1] Reports Relating to Colonial Possessions, No. 1148, 1923, p. 2.
[2] Reports Relating to Colonial Possessions, New Hebrides, 1923 (for year 1921–22), No. 1161 (H.M. Stationery Office, Kingsway, London).
[3] J. H. Holmes, "In Primitive New Guinea," 1924, p. 49.

unnecessary derision and casting into oblivion of tribal practices? What part has been played in decline by cannibalism, profligacy and opium? [1]

Colonial Office Reports do not give detailed information relating to birth and infantile mortality, for attempts to collect such data are fraught with insuperable difficulties. In South Africa, *increase* of native population gives rise to serious social, economic and political questions. There are no reliable and complete statistics of births, marriages, deaths, but political officers stationed in these districts as opportunity offers will prepare returns of population and report on marriage and social customs.[2] The report on Tanganyika Territory (1922) states that no statistics relating to native births and deaths are available; compulsory registration is not possible in the present state of tribal development. In Togoland (Mandated Territory) "indifference of local inhabitants in reporting births and deaths makes the figures available valueless for statistical purposes. The African is generally accepted to be prolific, and the number of births must be considerable, though a large percentage of the children born succumb to the effects of primitive midwifery." [3]

The appointment of thirteen medical officers to work in native reserves of Kenya has had a beneficial effect in combating disease. An investigation is proceeding in Central Kavirondo into birth-rate and infantile mortality problems. The information gained will act as a guide for measures to prevent the very large wastage of human life at present existing.[4] "The most deplorable aspect of native life is infant mortality, which from test surveys is estimated in some districts to be not less than 400 per 1000 live births,

[1] "Eastern Pacific Islands," 1910, pp. 9, 122.
[2] Report for 1922.
[3] Report No. 3, 1923, p. 38, par. 159.
[4] Report on Colony and Protectorate of Kenya (1921), No. 1153, published 1923, pp. 7, 9.

A Bopoto Fetish ensuring Good Health to Twins.

The placentæ are in two vessels raised on forked sticks erected on each side of the road leading to the village. They are a sign that twins have been born, and are supposed to act as a fetish against evil influence.

(*Photo : Rev. R. H. Kirkland.* Rev. J. Weeks: "Among Congo Cannibals." Seeley, Service & Co., Ltd.)

A Boloki Woman and Child.

The brass neck-ring weighs 12 lbs.; similar ornaments weigh as much as 28 lbs.

(Rev. J. Weeks: "Among Congo Cannibals." Seeley, Service & Co., Ltd.)

and must be attributed to insanitary conditions of life as regards both housing and feeding." [1]

In the Paraguayan Chaco there is a heavy infantile mortality. Deformed children and posthumous children are killed. An infant is murdered should either father or mother die at time of birth.[2]

These prefatory remarks and statistics serve to introduce the details of a problem no less urgent than it is complex. Some aspects of the case are purely ethnological, and the study should advance along psychological and sociological lines. Other questions fall within the scope of preventive medicine and research into causes and incidence of tropical and other diseases. In this chapter, primarily intended as a survey of educational ideals and methods during adolescence, investigation has been limited to maternity, infantile welfare and juvenile education as determinants of racial progress.

Pre-natal Care.—The education of the child may be said to commence with the treatment of the expectant mother; and of reasonably humane methods of assisting delivery and securing the best protection for mother and infant, savage races have in general very little knowledge, though there are cases of rational procedure. The problem of infant welfare among primitive peoples is one which naturally commends itself to the missionary and social reformer, no less than to the anthropologist and legislator, and in this department of reform women medical missionaries can be of inestimable value. Here, as at many other points, existing native beliefs can be utilised in the inauguration of reform. There is, for example, a widespread belief with regard to the entry of a soul into the child during early months of pregnancy. A belief in the reincarnation of ancestral spirits may prevail, and among all tribes there is a deeply rooted fear of malevolent ghosts, especially of the ghosts of young

[1] Report No. 1188, for 1922 (issued 1924), p. 6.
[2] W. B. Grubb, "In the Paraguayan Chaco," pp. 63–64.

children and adolescents who have not realised the satisfaction of maturity.

The social reformer, on finding a widespread tendency toward abortion and infanticide, might be inclined to point out the intrinsic wickedness of such action, or be led to enlarge on the evil social effect caused by an undermining of tribal strength. The latter point might form a strong ground of appeal when corporate life is strong and social stability is desired, in order to resist the attacks of hostile neighbours; but more effective than much enlargement upon the wickedness of the act is the appeal to a native sense of fear of consequences. Hence it might be pointed out that practices of abortion and infanticide are directly opposed to the native beliefs and teachings respecting reincarnation and the ownership of a spiritual counterpart which, when unjustly driven from the body, may have an evil influence over those responsible.

The legislator may devise laws for the suppression of the malpractices of abortion and infanticide, but what machinery can be adopted in order to ensure respect for the law over vast areas?[1] The responsibility for reform lies largely with the social workers, who can impress the natives only by looking at the problem from primitive man's standpoint, and advancing such arguments as will appeal to the native mind. In the early stages of moral training there is no objection to an appeal to the elementary emotion of fear in order to establish an improved standard of conduct. Merely to argue that certain actions are sinful according to the enlightenment of a community of white people would impress the native woman to the same extent as would a cogent argument demonstrating that any two sides of a triangle are together greater than the third side.

In England, the problem of infant welfare is only just receiving the attention which it deserves, now that it has

[1] W. N. Beaver, "Unexplored New Guinea," 1920, pp. 96, 296, 303.

been realised that out of a million little ones there are a hundred thousand who do not see their second year, whilst a considerable proportion grow up wanting in full physical and mental power.

With regard to the unsatisfactory state of infant welfare at home, which is improving, however, under the tutelage of a Ministry of Health, there may appear to be a certain ironical humour in urging the necessity for care of infants among native races under British rule. Reform, like charity, begins at home, but charitable reform which ends where it began, namely, among one's own kith and kin, is not the variety which will receive the support of broad-minded social reformers.

Hygienic and physical problems are the basis of social, intellectual and spiritual revival, and in such work medical missionaries have played an important part, yet much remains to be done in the supplanting of native ignorance and gross superstition by a knowledge of natural causes. In such work the medical missionary will, of course, be in opposition to the medicine man of the tribe, for in this individual are vested the full confidence, respect, and fear of the tribesmen.

To be forewarned is a distinct advantage, and in the succeeding pages it is proposed to bring forward some evidence concerning primitive man's beliefs and practices in connection with childbirth, abortion, infanticide, treatment of twins and management of youthful offspring.

Disease is rarely attributed to natural causes, but in almost every instance the malady is thought to be the result of evil magic worked by an enemy, and the first duty of every medicine man is to impress the patient with the belief that he has dispelled the malign influence, which is usually exhibited in palpable form.[1] Healing then takes place very largely as a result of auto-suggestion.

[1] Rivers, "Medicine, Magic, and Religion," 1924.

Any important event, such as childbirth or arrival at puberty, is considered to be fraught with danger because of the exceptional activity of evil spirits, who take advantage of such critical periods. Hence magical safeguards must at such times be multiplied, and native races of rudimentary culture are well equipped with amulets and ritual with which to combat the forces of black magic. A survey of evidence respecting conditions of childbirth among primitive races impresses one with the natives' awe of and desire to combat malign spiritual powers, while the most elementary requirement of the mother and child are in most instances totally neglected; disease as a *physical* evil is not recognised.

Parental Affection.—To give primitive parentage its due, one must realise that works dealing with modern research into the social conditions of aboriginal tribes frequently mention a display of affection on the part of parents, and the evidence adduced in the present chapter shows that there is usually a desire to secure the health and welfare of the infant. The moral standard must not be judged entirely by results, but to a certain extent by motive and intention.

The Tasmanians, a people of rudimentary culture, had great affection for their children. Péron [1] speaks of a Tasmanian woman's affection for her offspring, saying, "They are extremely fond of their children and treat their women kindly."

Backhouse (James),[2] who spent four years among the aborigines of Tasmania, speaks of the distress of a Tasmanian woman when a sailor, with whom she cohabited, took away her child. A further mention is made of the grief of a mother and female relations at the burial of an infant. The Rev. John West [3] refers to the display of affection exhibited each time a new party of Tasmanians reached the internment

[1] F. Péron, "Van Dieman's Land Annual," 1834, p. 78.

[2] "Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies," London, 1843, pp. 83, 147.

[3] "The History of Tasmania," Launceston, 1852, vol. ii, p. 80.

camp, "the parents embracing their children with rapture and many tears." La Billardière (Jacques Julien)[1] says: "The least of the children, frightened at the sight of such a number of Europeans, immediately took refuge in the arms of their mothers, who lavished on them marks of the greatest affection." A father corrected his child for throwing a stone at another child younger than himself by slapping him on the shoulder. "This made the child shed tears and prevented him from repeating the action."

N. W. Thomas[2] says of the Australian aborigines: "The treatment of children is universally kind. Indeed, the Australian parents are foolishly indulgent, for they never chastise children, though the maternal grandmother may apply her hand."

B. Malinowski[3] has made a detailed study of forty-one statements respecting the relationship between parents and children in aboriginal Australian Society, and in these pages evidence adduced by Curr, Eyre, Roth, Lumholtz, Spencer and Gillen, Howitt, Mathew, and other eminent authorities is studied comparatively.

In thirty-five works out of forty-one under consideration, Malinowski found statements explicitly affirming the existence of strong feelings of affection and attachment between parents and children. Extreme leniency appears to be the general rule, and no punishments are recorded.

Provided the season brings a satisfactory supply of food and water to the tribe, the lot of a young Australian child is by no means unhappy. "At first the baby goes on all fours and is as much a centre of attraction as a white baby of the same age. In fact, the Central Australian is just as fond of and just as kind to his children as the average

[1] "An Account of a Voyage in Search of 'La Perouse,'" 2 vols., London, 1800 (vol. ii, pp. 54–55).
[2] "Native Races of Australia," London, 1906, p. 179.
[3] "The Family among Australian Aborigines," London, 1913, p. 249.

civilised person. It is a great mistake to suppose that the Australian child is miserable, underfed and hopeless of face." [1]

" The little black piccaninny enjoys itself just as much as the average white child. On the march when too young to walk, it is carried by its mother or father, the latter being as fond of and as kind to the child as the mother is. In camp you can hear the children hour after hour laughing and shouting at their play. Out in the scrub with their tiny digging-sticks they mimic the action of their mothers, and at an age when the white child is learning to read books they are busy, all unconscious to themselves, learning to read the book of nature." [2]

When speaking of the Shans, who dwell to the north of Burma, Mrs. Leslie Milne says: [3] " The eyes of a Shan woman fill with tears when she speaks of her child, though years have passed since she lost it in death," and, further, " The Shan baby receives a warm welcome." A boy brings more gladness than a girl, as the Shans are sure that a man stands on a higher plane than a woman. A woman, however, holds an important place in the family and therefore girl babies are by no means despised. There is among the Shans a wholesome belief that children are given as rewards for good deeds done by parents in previous existences, and as a converse it is held that absence of children implies want of merit in previous lives.

The Veddas of Ceylon are of rudimentary culture, yet " they are affectionate and indulgent parents." [4] The children are reported to be very truthful, whilst the parents never refuse a small child anything, and give of their best in order to gratify the child's smallest wish.

[1] B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, " Across Australia," London, 1912, vol. i, p. 188.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 190.

[3] " The Shans at Home," pp. 31, 89.

[4] C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, " The Veddas," Cambridge, 1911, pp. 90, 91.

Warlike Naga tribes of North-West India [1] (Manipur) are foolishly indulgent, showing a lack of discipline which engenders much waywardness among juveniles. Mr. Hodson states that no case of cruelty to children has come to his notice.

Respecting the relationship between parents and young children among the Indians of Guiana, it is stated that "while the child is young a great deal of affection is

A Kobeua girl learning to walk.

Araucanian baby in a native cradle.

bestowed upon it by both father and mother. The latter almost always, even when walking, carries it against her hip, slung in a small hammock from her neck or shoulders. The young children seem fully to reciprocate the affection of their parents, but as they grow older the affection on both sides seems to cool, though in reality it perhaps only becomes less demonstrative. . . . Indians rarely, if ever, illtreat their children." [2] The cradling arrangements of

[1] T. C. Hodson, "The Naga Tribes of Manipur," London, 1911, p. 7.

[2] Sir Everard F. im Thurn, "Among the Indians of Guiana," London, 1883, p. 219.

many Indian tribes are, however, unsatisfactory, though learning to walk is a rational procedure.

At a time when the North American Indians were truly designated "wild," George Catlin made extensive investigations respecting the social conditions as they existed about 1835: "It would be untrue and doing an injustice to the Indians to say that they were in the least behind us in conjugal, filial, and in parental affection." "If the infant dies during the time that it is allotted to be carried in this cradle it is buried, and the disconsolate mother fills the cradle with black quills and feathers in the parts which the child's body has occupied." In this way she carries it around with her wherever she goes for a year or more as if the infant were alive in it. She often lays or stands it leaning against the side of the wigwam, where she is all day engaged in her needlework, meanwhile chatting and talking as if her beloved infant were still alive. So lasting and strong is the affection of these women for the lost child that it matters not how cruel or heavy their load, or how rugged the route they have to pass over, they will faithfully carry their cradle and doll, performing their duties to it even more strictly than during the life of the child.[1] Bilby says that the Eskimo of Baffin Land are not a big tribal unit, perhaps ten to twenty families. Despite the prevalence of polygamy, the birth-rate is a low one, deaths fairly balance births, so that numbers remain more or less stable.

An Eskimo mother practises self-denial by reserving a portion of every meal for her infant who is not able to take solid food. As a sign of mourning, the bereaved mother carries the boots of the child for a full year after its decease; there is for both parents a taboo against raw flesh, and the woman must use for cooking purposes a small pot which

[1] George Catlin, "North American Indians," London, 1866, vol. ii, p. 133.

is exclusively her own.[1] Such observances indicate, of course, that the death of an infant is by no means lightly regarded.

" Eskimo children are treated very kindly and are not scolded, whipped or subject to any corporal punishment." [2]

The inhospitable regions of Siberia do not " freeze the genial current of the soul," for " children are an absorbing interest with tundra people. They come before all other considerations. . . . Children are attended to first at meals and their noisy clamour for titbits goes unrebuked. The behaviour of parents shows constant preoccupation with care of children. Interest is not limited by legitimacy and an illegitimate child is the object of great solicitude. No houses are without children, for if the occupants have none of their own, they make up the deficiency by adopting part or the whole of somebody's surplus." [3]

The Ainu of Japan value children, and their absence is thought to be a divine punishment against the parents.[4]

When speaking generally for the native races of British Central Africa, A. Werner says : " Parents are not demonstrative, and it is not easy for travellers to arrive at a knowledge of intimate family matters. The fathers of my acquaintance were certainly not indifferent to their children." [5] There is, of course, a well-defined distinction between true affection and want of discipline, and though primitive races appear to neglect the restraints which are beneficial in the rearing of offspring, there is, without doubt, much true affection which should be directed into intelligent expression by social workers.

Anthropological evidence respecting the treatment of

[1] F. Boas, " Central Eskimo," American Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, 1888, p. 612; and J. W. Bilby, " Among Unknown Eskimo," 1923, p. 66.
[2] Boas, " Central Eskimo," p. 580.
[3] M. A. Czàplicka, " My Siberian Year," pp. 87–89.
[4] Rev. J. Batchelor, " The Ainus of Japan," London, 1892, pp. 43–44.
[5] A. Werner, " The Natives of British Central Africa," London, 1906, p. 148.

children among primitive races endorses the opinion of Werner, who says: "On the whole I think if native parents fail in their duty it is through being too easy-going."[1] Then there follows an illustration of the apathetic father whose son, aged eight years, had absented himself from the village school in order to attend a beer-drinking in a neighbouring village. "If he has made up his mind to go, who can hinder him?" said the parent.[2]

Problems connected with child life may be conveniently studied in relation to particular geographical areas, the data being dealt with under headings concerning treatment of the expectant mother, abortion, infanticide, care of the infant, children's games and early instruction, all of which points should be of practical service to the social worker and medical missionary.

Training of the Investigator.—It cannot be too strongly urged that the most successful worker in the field of social reform among primitive races is not necessarily the individual who is most enthusiastic for the conversion of great numbers of natives to the beliefs of some particular Christian sect. Shelving the open question of the desirability of "converting" natives, who are to be brought into some particular sectarian coterie, there remain social and physical problems concerning which there is no justification for disagreement. In fact, the various aspects of the missionary problem, likewise the relative importance of these religious social, moral, intellectual and physical considerations, are not the direct concern of the anthropologist, who must content himself with placing at the disposal of the social and religious enthusiast such material as may prevent initial errors, which are likely to hinder the work of amelioration.

Many years of pedagogic effort were misused until

[1] Werner's "The Natives of British Central Africa," p. 110.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 109–10.

Rabelais, Montaigne, Ascham, Mulcaster, Comenius, Locke and Rousseau pointed out the necessity for training teachers, whose success depends largely on a careful study of the collective and individual development of children. Pestalozzi, Froebel and Jacotot were pioneers in the detailed study of methods by which the educationist could succeed by utilising the activities that are natural to childhood. The physician studies patients in general for many years before applying his knowledge to particular instances within his own practice; alas! not always with happy results. The schoolmaster deals with child development in general, and the detailed observation of particular individuals, before he qualifies to take charge of a form. It is well recognised in the pedagogic world that a knowledge of the subject to be taught is not a complete qualification for teaching; there must be understanding of and sympathy with juvenile development.

A good military strategist is one who has learned to look into the mind of the enemy, and a successful social reformer is likely to be recruited from men who have studied the social, moral, intellectual, religious and physical life of the people among whom they intend to work. Study should not be delayed until arrival in the field, the worker must go forth with a general understanding of the thought processes of primitive races, coupled with a detailed knowledge of the beliefs and traditions of those with whom he intends to labour. Part of the classical and theological training of missionary students might with advantage be replaced by a sociological curriculum.

Section II.—Maternity and Child Welfare in Australia, Melanesia, Polynesia and India

Australia.—The Australian mother, in common with primitive woman in general, takes very little notice of the

pains of childbirth. There is no important ceremonial, and the expectant mother when near the time of delivery retires from the camp with a female attendant. Before long the mother returns carrying the babe in a mat or opossum skin slung over her shoulder.[1]

Parturition is almost invariably accomplished well away from the settlement, often in a temporary structure which is specially erected for the purpose and afterwards destroyed. The isolation of the mother during delivery is due to primitive man's belief in the exceptional activity of malign spiritual powers during any crisis. When the child is strong enough to grasp, it sits astride the mother's shoulder or hip, in the former position clinging tenaciously to the parent's hair. Late weaning is the general rule among primitive races, and the young Australian child may be seen at the age of four or five years taking his turn of suckling with younger children. In order to show affection, the mother places her lips on the child and blows, a process which may be regarded as a substitute for kissing.

Mr. N. W. Thomas states that in the region of Pennefather River the natives believe in the existence of "choi," a soul essence capable of entering the body of a child. Anjea, a mythical being, makes the baby of mud and vivifies the infant, if a boy, with "choi" from the soul of the father; if a girl, the necessary soul or life essence is taken from the father's sister. These mud babies are thought to go wandering about the bush, sometimes tripping over creepers, an accident which is held to be the cause of "club" feet.[2]

The Arunta of Central Australia believe in reincarnation, and a woman who frequents a place known to be the resort of the souls of dead tribesmen is incurring the risk of becoming pregnant. Spirit children are thought to inhabit

[1] N. W. Thomas, "Native Races of Australia," London, 1906, p. 178.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 209.

Arunta (Central Australia) Woman carrying Child.
(Sir Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen : " Across Australia.")

Arunta (Central Australia) Baby learning to walk.
(Sir Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen : " Across Australia.")

certain trees, and among such arboreal dwellers there is said to be a preference for plump mothers.[1]

The newly-born Australian child is copper-red in colour, but owing to the very rapid darkening of the skin the normal chocolate-brown tint has been attained in a few days. For some months after birth the young child is carried about in a wooden trough or "pitchi," or perhaps a simple slab of bark cut from a gum tree is used. As soon as the child can sit up it is carried astride the left hip of the mother, who has her right hand free to use a digging-stick, with which she turns up the wild yams.

The first action of the Arunta mother is to paint a black line over the eye of the newly-born child in order to ward off the evil eye and sickness.[2] How or why there should be protective power in the mark is not the concern of primitive parents. Old men of the tribe have established faith in the proceeding, and should sickness prevail in spite of the magical marking, some enemy is held to have worked stronger counter-magic, which can be dispelled only by the prompt intervention of the tribal medicine-man.

In all probability the number of children reared by an aboriginal Australian family is small, though there is no reason to believe that black people are not prolific. Mr. N. W. Thomas states that the largest recorded family consisted of thirteen children. Twins are rare; cases of triplets have been recorded.[3]

B. Malinowski[4] points out that the long periods of suckling have the desirable result of establishing a strong bond of union between mother and child, but at the same

[1] B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, "Across Australia," London, 1912, vol. i, p. 187.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 324. Compare O. Blagden and W. Skeat, "Pagan Races of Malay Peninsula," vol. ii, p. 19.

[3] Thomas's "Native Races of Australia," p. 177.

[4] B. Malinkowski, "The Family among the Australian Aborigines," London, 1913, p. 235.

time one must recognise that the inconvenience of such prolonged attention is likely to lead to infanticide, especially when food is scarce and the mother's vitality is reduced by privation. Women are expected to keep up with a tribe which is migrating in search of food, game, and pasture, and in times of drought a weary mother has had to leave behind one or two of the young children to die in the bush. With regard to the difficulties of migration, Dr. A. W. Howitt has said: "Infanticide in the Kurnai tribe arose through the difficulty in carrying a baby when there were other children, especially when the next youngest was not able to walk."[1] This question of infanticide and the probable causes, N. W. Thomas has discussed, and in his opinion the causes are inconvenience, privation and perhaps an occasional demand for the sacrifice of a child at the initiation ceremony of a medicine-man.[2] With regard to the last-named point, I have found no corroborative evidence.

An account of the physical drill given by a Bunya-Bunya woman to her child shows the mother's anxiety for the infant's welfare, and in the *modus operandi* there is much sound common sense.

After laying the baby on his back the mother puts her two hands on his shoulders and pulls the arms gently down toward the heels, making a peculiar clucking noise with her mouth. This process, which is carried out three or four times a day, is to make the child grow, and the exercises are thought to be most beneficial when carried out in the early morning. A woman will also try to improve the sight of her child by drawing her hand under her arm then massaging the child's eyelids. In order to make the child develop muscle, a boy who has reached the age of three years receives a cord of plaited hair, which is drawn

[1] "Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," London, 1904, p. 750.
[2] Thomas's "Native Races of Australia," p. 178.

under each arm and round his neck in such a manner as to be fastened on the chest and between the shoulder-blades. This hair girdle is usually retained until the boy is initiated into the tribe at the age of puberty.

In addition to these physical exercises and precautions, the nursing mother is always careful to turn her child so that the eye of an approaching stranger may not look into the face of the infant. The Australian aboriginal appears to participate in the universal belief concerning the malevolence of the "evil eye." [1]

There is invariably among primitive races a desire to bring infants into conformity with the prevailing standards of tribal beauty, and no matter how grotesque the results may appear to strangers, it is to be remembered that the mother is acting, so she thinks, in the best interests of the child. Hence the processes of nose-flattening is punctiliously carried out in the Yuin tribe.[2] Scars are raised.[3] The septum of the nose is pierced so as to admit an ornamental feather.[4] The ceremonies of scar-raising and nose-piercing are, however, usually left until near the time of initiation.

The naming of a child is of considerable importance, and the aborigines of Australia have the usual reticence of primitive man with regard to private names; for magical practices of an enemy are thought to be more potent if he can become acquainted with the secret name of the individual whom he intends to injure.

In the Kurnai tribe the infant has no name except the general one of "bit," meaning "child," until it begins to walk. At the age of eight or nine years the paternal grandfather or grandmother confers a special name, which may also be borne by other children of the family. The name given at the initiation ceremonies is held to be sacred

[1] A. W. Howitt, "Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," London, 1904, p. 747.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 742–43. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 743. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 741.

and on no account may it be revealed to strangers. Magical practices are usually carried out by a person who first obtains a portion of hair, or clippings from the nails, of the individual he wishes to place under a spell, and for practical purposes of black magic, knowledge of the private name is thought to be equally efficacious. Dr. Howitt reports : " One of the Kurnai, of whom I enquired as to his child's name, told me in a whisper when no one was present. When I asked him the name of one of the Kurnai he said, ' I cannot tell you ; he might be very angry with me. Our fathers have told us that we must never speak of our secret names.' " [1]

In the Turrbal tribe, the name of a place, bird, mammal or fish was usually given to a child when one week old. As a rule, a girl retains her " child " name through life, but the name of a male infant is changed at initiation, and possibly again when the man is thirty or forty years of age.[2] Thus, according to N. W. Thomas, " when a man had grey hair his name became ' Kadlibuka,' and when he joined the ranks of old men his name would be taken from the land which he owned, as, for example, ' Muliakburka ' (old man of Muliak)." [3] Taboos against mentioning the name of a recently deceased person are common, and on the death of a tribesman it is not infrequently found that persons of the same name have changed their designation in order to avoid the ill luck which is thought to result from calling out the names of the dead. There are also instances of parents changing their names to express the fact that they have an increase in the family, thus if the infant is named " Kadlit," the father might call himself " Kadlitpinna," the mother would style herself " Kadlinganki." In fact, the names of both parents may be changed after the birth of each child.[4]

[1] Howitt's " Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," p. 737.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 740.
[3] Thomas's " Native Races of Australia," p. 179.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 180.

What can be said now of the early years of childhood? How does the Australian child pass his time? What are his favourite games? And what evidence is there respecting his disposition?

Messrs. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen remark on the shyness of Australian children, whose photographs, taken when the youngsters are at play, are very difficult to obtain. Unselfishness appears to be a pleasing trait in the disposition of native Australian children, for explorers of wide experience say: "We used sometimes to have a score or more of piccaninnies gathered around us when distributing sweets, and there was never the slightest attempt made by any child to secure more than its own share. The bigger ones always took good care that the little ones were not overlooked."[1]

Boys and girls play together, and up to the age of about seven years no attempt is made to separate them. About this time, however, a boy usually commences to take instruction which will be of service in adult life, and toy spears, shields, boomerangs and throwing clubs are acquired. Before the age of seven little girls have begun to take an interest in the duties which will occupy the whole of their married life, and hut-making, manufacture of nets, making thread, collecting vegetable food and cooking are the order of the day. Australian women collect wild yams, which they turn up by use of a pointed digging-stick. Australian aborigines have no knowledge of agriculture, they live by hunting, fishing and collecting natural vegetable products, such as yams, tubers and berries.

According to B. Malinowski, there is little difference between the treatment of boys and girls, though the former naturally revert to the care of the father, who provides instruction in the use of toy spears and boomerangs, while the girls follow the mother in her domestic duties of food collecting and cooking.

[1] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," pp. 190–1.

The boy's education begins with the moment when he leaves his parents, joins the young men's camp and begins to undergo a series of initiations. At any rate he begins to be educated in a new order of ideas. He is initiated into the tribal mysteries, and apparently he has then to submit to a severe *régime*. Girls marry at about ten years of age, and about the same time boys leave their parents never to return. "In bachelors' camps boys come under a new authority, namely that of their tribal elders, and during the time of initiation all the wisdom and morality is imparted by old men of the tribe."

The games and pastimes of Australian children are by no means lacking in educative value, and, like most recreations of children in primitive tribes, the occupations of childhood are a facsimile of actions and interests which constitute the daily routine of adults.

Australians, who invariably live the lives of nomadic hunters, are adept trackers, and in this art the children graduate by constant practice of drawing tracks in the sand. A marvellous knowledge of animal life and habits is exhibited in the competitive game of sketching tracks of the emu, kangaroo and bandicoot. The brilliant sunshine suggests shadowgraphic entertainments, in which many children, by skilled manipulation of the hands, imitate the forms and actions of common animals. Mimetic dances are a source of great amusement, and it may be noted that such dances, also the game of drawing on the sands, form an integral part of the adult life, for at "totemic" ceremonies men draw these tracks of animals and no function is complete without a mimetic dance in which animal movements are faithfully simulated. "*Totemic*" refers to the clan or totem, which usually has some well-known animal as an emblem. Spirits of ancestors are thought to dwell in these animals, whose movements have a particular meaning for members of the clan.

Young children of all races appreciate animal life, and in Australia creatures such as rats, bandicoots, frogs and young birds serve as pets and playthings. These small animals are often neglected so that they die. This unhappy result appears to be the outcome of carelessness rather than malice or wanton cruelty, and the tendency to keep pets requires direction and oversight, for the principle of caring for animal life is a sound one. Young cassowaries and opossums fare better, for they are free to wander in camp in order to forage for refuse. The dingo, or wild native dog, is generally taken when young and tied by one leg to a stake until it shows signs of docility; in general, the treatment afforded to this animal is by no means unkind.

Cats' cradle is widespread and some of the figures show originality and ingenuity as the operators have to use hands, mouth, and knees in order to evolve some of the more complicated figures, which pass through eight or nine stages.

A game resembling "blind man's buff" is played in imitation of the movements of a stinging insect. One of the children runs about making a buzzing noise, and without opening his eyes endeavours to catch a playmate. If successful he buzzes loudly in the ear of the captive and pinches him in imitation of a sting.

The game of "bogey" is common, and the ogre, pretending to be an old woman armed with a hot digging-stick, may be seen chasing other youngsters in great earnest. One bogey has the peculiarity of tickling a victim, who is not allowed to go until he is almost dead from laughing. In the housekeeping game a small boy sits in the shade of a hut and enters into combat with another boy who has stealthily approached in order to steal the wife of the proprietor. Little girls vie with one another in pretending to make visitors welcome by offering yams, opossum and other delicacies. N. W. Thomas says, "Dolls are by no

means unknown, but they have been but rarely recorded by writers. From South Queensland there are gum cement figures moulded into the shape of a woman." Parents encourage their children by making small bags in which dolls may be carried, and in some instances pieces of bark, wrapped in grass, do duty as dolls.[1] Toy weapons, such as the " wommera " or spear-thrower, the spear, boomerang, and throwing club, are very common, as they are easily constructed from grasses and reeds. Games of hunting kangaroo or cassowary, collecting honey, snaring cockatoos and wild ducks are very popular and of high educative value on account of the way in which they draw out mental and physical activities that will serve a useful purpose when the days of play are over. The " wit-wit " or kangaroo rat is a curious toy which affords much amusement to the Australian boy. This implement consists of a piece of wood with conical head and thin stem varying in length from twelve to twenty inches and having a weight of less than two ounces. The smaller form is thrown through the top of a leafy bush, from which it ricochets and travels perhaps so far as 300 yards, while the larger variety of " wit-wit " is made to ricochet along the ground for surprisingly long distances. Ball games entertain children in many parts of Australia, and though the ball may be only a bladder, rolled hair, or opossum skin, great amusement is derived and childish activities and humour are encouraged.

The Australian child cannot be said to receive a musical or artistic education. Dancing is common, but by far the greater part of this is done by the men, and the women, if tolerated at all, are mere spectators. Usually Australian women provide the orchestra for the corroboree, and it cannot be said that much ingenuity or skill is required, for there is only a rhythmical clapping of hands and beating on an opossum skin stretched between the knees. This

[1] Thomas's " Native Races of Australia," p. 132.

primitive drum is the only musical instrument possessed by the Australian aborigines. Songs consist of a monotonous refrain, comprising a few words, which are chanted hour after hour until they would drive anyone but a native to absolute distraction. The bull-roarer is a slat of thin wood to one end of which a string is attached, and when whirled about the head this contrivance emits a shrill musical note, said by the Yuin to be the voice of the God Daramulun. Women never became acquainted with this sacred object; their business is to disappear rapidly when its warning note is heard, for the weird sound heralds the approach of some sacred rite such as the initiation of boys into tribal fellowship. At puberty each boy is taught the use and significance of the instrument, but of this special education there will be more to say in a chapter devoted to the initiation of boys.

In art, the young Australian aboriginal confines himself to the painting of his body with red ochre, charcoal, or gypsum, sometimes producing a very fantastic combination of red, white and black. Furthermore, he draws in the sand, tracing tracks of mythical ancestors with totem signs and symbols which are indispensable at the various ceremonies connected with an increase of rain supply or animal fecundity. Rock paintings are of the simplest character, being as a rule elementary geometrical figures and outlines of hands, produced by blowing red ochre from the mouth over the hand, which has been laid flat on the rock. Sacred objects such as bull-roarers and "churinga" [1] are decorated with paint and down, so also are the bodies of performers at totemic ceremonies, but in general it may be said that the artistic and musical education afforded to young Australian aborigines is of the most elementray character. Manipulative skill, necessary for the flaking of glass and chert into spear-heads, is of a very high order, and un-

[1] *Churinga.* Decorated stones or pieces of wood, ancestral in origin, of magic powers, and carefully concealed in tribal repositories.

doubtedly the process of flaking by pressure and percussion must constitute a very important part of the youth's education. The art of making pottery is unknown, and the only vessels are of skin, wood and bark, so an occupation which usually falls to the lot of primitive woman is not part of the domestic education of an Australian girl.

The question of family life, with its formative and educative influence, is of greatest importance to the social worker who is attempting to gauge the educational factors which affect the development of young children of primitive races.

With regard to Australia, Malinowski came to the conclusion "that the mode of living points to a quite complete isolation of each family. Some of the tribes live scattered in very small groups, but these are by no means promiscuous and undivided hordes. There are camp rules which point to the isolation of the family round camp fires and at meals. Over the whole continent the lowest unit of tribal structure appears to be the individual family. . . . The family unit is nevertheless restricted to parents and children under the age of puberty. For although the ties between parents and children last through life, after reaching puberty the children enter into new relationships, which superimpose themselves on the former ones. These new bonds result for the girl from marriage, for the boy from his entering into tribal secret society, into initiation and life in the bachelors' camp." [1]

Melanesia and Polynesia.—Throughout Melanesia and Polynesia there are certain characteristic methods of treatment for the expectant mother, and the following statements referring to Fijian procedure are applicable to many areas, in fact taboo and isolation may be considered as universal, not only among Melanesians and Polynesians, but with primitive races the whole world over.

[1] Malinkowski's "The Family among the Australian Aborigines," pp. 298, 299.

In Fiji the case is taken in hand by professional midwives, who teach their daughters a fairly rational procedure, and the whole professional knowledge and etiquette is regarded as an hereditary calling. As a rule there are no precautions against blood-poisoning, and women leave the specially erected hut from one to five days after confinement. Indeed there are cases " in which a woman has gone out in the morning in an advanced stage of pregnancy and has returned in the evening with a load of firewood on her back, and a new-born child in her arms." [1]

Periods of rest after delivery vary considerably with social status. A month is the usual convalescence for better-class women, who are obliged to stay in the house the whole of the time, a precaution which may be not so much a physical consideration as an attempt to guard against misfortunes which are thought to be imminent during any crisis, such as arrival at puberty or childbirth. In the families of chiefs, women abstain from all but purely domestic work for a hundred days, but there is no evidence to show that the mother has to avoid contact with other people during the whole period. In most instances a temporary hut is erected, always at a considerable distance from the village. Sometimes the mother is quite unaided and after delivery she burns the hut and carries her child to the village.[2]

Bishop R. H. Codrington has drawn attention to the interesting custom of the " couvade," [3] a practice which we shall have to note again in connection with the pagan tribes of Borneo, the Indians of Guiana, and the Naga tribes of Manipur. The custom possibly had its origin during transition from the maternal to the paternal stage

[1] Basil Thomson, " The Fijians," London, 1908, p. 206.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 206, and G. Brown, " Melanesians and Polynesians," London, 1910, p. 34.
[3] Codrington's " The Melanesians," p. 228.

of society, and may be a mark in the evolution of paternal responsibility. Briefly the couvade is a usage which, based on the assumption that the actions of the father may adversely affect the child, requires the male parent to retire to bed for several days after the delivery of the mother. At Saa the father observes food restrictions before and after the birth of the child. He avoids pork, and is obliged to abstain from all movements which are supposed to be injurious to the child. The father of a newly-born child will not do any hard work such as lifting heavy weights or paddling his canoe. Such physical strain is thought to be communicated by some sympathetic magical process, the result being injury to the tender, undeveloped infant. In Banks Island food taboos are observed by both parents, who are careful to avoid any substance which they would consider injurious for the child, and in the case of the first-born the father may not work for a full month. Inhabitants of Banks Island, likewise of the New Hebrides, have a ban against the young father entering any sacred place, and in the latter locality the young father may do no work other than waiting on his wife, and he must carefully avoid shellfish and other produce of the beach, for such foods, if taken by the father, are said to cause ulcers to form on the child.[1]

Women of the Solomon Islands, observing that one of their number is about to give birth to a child, build a small leaf hut away in the bush, and to this wretched tenement, through which rain and wind can penetrate, the expectant mother repairs shortly before delivery. No male may take part in the construction of the dwelling, neither may the husband approach the hut or see his child for at least a fortnight after birth ; his return is celebrated by women of the village, who perform a ceremony at which blood is sprinkled.[2]

[1] R. W. Williamson, "The Ways of the South Sea Savage," London, 1914, p. 62.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

Mafulu Mother and Baby.
(R. W. Williamson : " Mafulu Mountain People of British New Guinea.")

The native people of New Guinea celebrate the birth of a first child by collecting near the house and singing throughout the night until daybreak, when the child's father kills a pig and a dog, on which all feast to repletion.[1]

Among the Mafulu there is no ceremony to celebrate the birth of children other than the first-born of a chief, whose arrival is the occasion of much merrymaking by women invited from a neighbouring village. The women are attired in full dancing finery and are armed with spears, clubs or adzes. At the house of the chief, and again at the village club-house these women make a warlike demonstration, even going to the extent of hurling their spears at the building with such force that wall and roof are penetrated. Following this exhibition, which may be intended to drive away hostile influences from the young child, there is a distribution of vegetables among the visitors, after which pigs are killed and cut up so that each guest may take away a portion.

The "Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait"[2] (1898) give many interesting facts concerning food taboos imposed on the mother during pregnancy, which seems to be regarded as a dangerous period. In the island of Saibai the mother may not eat turtle on the day of delivery, and for the first month after childbirth she may eat turtle and dugong only by means of a pointed stick. In the islands of Yam and Tutu turtle is tabooed food for pregnant women. The natives are to a great extent dependent on the turtle for food supply, and the taboos against consumption of the flesh of this animal seem to be the result of superstition regarding the unknown influences at work during the state of pregnancy. In Mabuiag taboos are stricter during the turtle-pairing

[1] Williamson's "The Ways of the South Sea Savage," p. 116.
[2] Vol. v, pp. 196, 200; vol. vi, p. 105.

season, and women may not enter the house in which turtle flesh is cooking. The expectant mother must not go into the sea; in fact, she is cautioned to avoid walking below high-water mark, presumably because it is thought that during pregnancy she will have an undesirable effect on the turtles which occupy the foreshore.

As a rule there are in the islands of Torres Straits taboos which prevent the mother from eating fish and shellfish. Flesh of the sole-like flat fish is said to cause the child in the womb to develop weak eyes and a misshapen nose, another fish is prohibited because its flesh causes the body of the fœtus to be wrinkled like that of an aged person, while flesh from the octopus is thought to affect the mother in such a way that the hands, mouth and fingers of the child are malformed.

Before turning to a consideration of the normal care and development of young children in Melanesia, the subjects of abortion and infanticide deserve attention. Such malpractices may arise from superstition respecting the ill-luck attendant on the birth of twins, from inability to suckle, from a preference for male children, because of the long period of abstention from conjugal rights which is enforced on the mother, who, as a rule, does not cohabit with her husband for a period of three years, until the child is weaned. Whatever the causes may be, they should be diagnosed and if possible removed by the social reformer, for moral no less than for physical reasons; and it is in connection with such work that trained women missionaries can be of the greatest service.

Women of Mabuiag try to cause temporary sterility by magical means, a charm named "gab" being buried in the mound of termites. In order to remove the effect of this charm, the object is disinterred and cast into the sea.[1]

[1] "Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait," vol. v, p. 197.

In New Britain abortion is brought about partly by compressing the womb, partly by administering an infusion prepared from a creeping plant which grows on the beach of most Pacific Islands. Certain old women of the Solomon Islands practise as professional abortionists by pressing a heated stone against the abdomen and causing the pregnant woman to swallow a potion prepared from the leaves of a vine-like creeper.[1] "If a woman did not want the trouble of bringing up a child and desired to appear young; or if she was afraid the husband might think the birth before its time, she would secure abortion by vegetable poison or by twisting or pressing the fœtus."[2]

Among the Fijians, "abortion in old days appears to have been limited to women of high rank who for reasons of policy were not allowed to have children. In a polygamous society every wife had an interest in preventing her rivals from bearing sons who might dispute the succession with her own offspring. Professional abortionists were sent in the train of every woman who married out of her own tribe."[3] Dislike of long abstinence from conjugal rights during the period of lactation, combined with a strong aversion to bearing children to an unpopular husband, would be sufficient reason for practising abortion. At one time bark, roots and herbs were freely used in order to prepare infusions which should cause premature birth, but fortunately such practices are in abeyance owing to criminal prosecutions. The Gilbert Islanders are alleged to have adopted methods of securing abortion which were excessively brutal, much more so than the means employed in Fiji. Sir Basil Thomson remarks that the practice is still common

[1] G. Brown, "Melanesians and Polynesians," London, 1910, pp. 33, 34; and D. Jenness and A. Ballantyne, "The Northern D'Entrecasteaux," 1920, p. 106.

[2] Codrington's, "The Melanesians," p. 229.

[3] Thomson's "The Fijians," ch. xiii, p. 221.

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in spite of European legislation.[1] The decay of the Fijian race is due to excessive mortality among infants and not to the low birth-rate. "The mean annual birth-rate for ten years, 1881–91 was 38·48, which compares very favourably with the mean annual rates of European countries. . . . Accidents of childbirth seem to be rare with Fijian women. Abnormal presentations are regarded as the fruit of adulterous connection, and when the child dies death is put down to this cause." [2]

"Nearly half the Fijian children die within the first year, death often being due to premature weaning, owing to a second conception. Many weakly children are brought into the world through the physical incapacity of the mother for bearing healthy children in quick succession. This incapacity may result from some inherent racial defect or from improper and insufficient food. Under the old and better system of abstinence, the forces of the mother had time to recuperate before she was again called upon to bear the strain of maternity. Missionary influence is responsible for cohabitation of husband and wife during the period of suckling." [3] The missionary appears to be on the horns of a dilemma, for if he advises separation of husband and wife during the long period of lactation, he is encouraging unnatural conditions which may lead to the practice of abortion. On the contrary, the encouragement of cohabitation of husband and wife leads to a second pregnancy closely following the first and the health both of mother and children is impaired. Separation for a much reduced period of lactation might effect a compromise.

Dr. Haddon reports that some years ago, in the islands of Torres Straits, infanticide was without doubt a common practice. When the child was born the father would decide whether it was to live; should he decree death, the infant

[1] Thomson's "The Fijians," ch. xiii, p. 225.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 206. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 178.

MAFULU HUSBAND, WIFE AND CHILD.

(R. W. Williamson : "Mafulu People of British New Guinea.")

CAT'S CRADLE AT KIWAI.

Many of the games and figures are complicated. Comparative study of "cat's cradle" in all parts of the world awaits the attention of ethnologists.

(W. N. Beaver : "Unexplored New Guinea." Seeley, Service & Co., Ltd.)

was buried in the sand. In some instances "too hard work" was the reason assigned for not rearing offspring, and as a rule female children were less likely to be preserved, their value not being esteemed equal to that of boys.[1] Limitation of food supply owing to the small size of the islands must have proved a strong incentive to control of numbers by infanticide.[2] The birth of twins appears to be decidedly uncommon throughout the western islands of Torres Straits, and when such a delivery takes place the people assert that the cause is excessive intercourse and in former times one of the children would have been buried in the sand. Infanticide is alleged still to be common among the Mafulu people of New Guinea, mainly on account of the trouble connected with rearing children. Sometimes a child may be murdered because the mother has not given a pig to the village feast, such an omission would be a matter of great reproach. Hence in cases of poverty, or when no public festival is due, the mother will secure abortion or conceal and kill her child.[3]

Children in Mafulu are often made the subjects of a superstitious ceremony in which the mother takes her newly-born child to the river and gives it a little water to drink. Should the child appear to like the water, the mother returns home with her babe, but on the contrary the infant is thrown into the river if it makes no attempt to drink the water.[4]

In New Georgia twins are frequent, and in former times, if both were of the same sex, they were allowed to live. In case the children were boy and girl the latter was strangled, or perhaps both were killed. The Solomon Islanders thought that a birth of twins denoted excess, or unchastity of the mother, and it was held that such children

[1] *J.R.A.I.*, vol. xix, 1890, p. 359. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] Williamson's "The Ways of the South Sea Savage," p. 222.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 255.

would, on arrival at the adult stage, bring punishment on the community by violating laws of class relationship.[1]

When speaking in general terms of Melanesian Society Bishop Codrington says: "Abortion and infanticide were very common.

"If a woman did not want the trouble of bringing up a child and desired to appear young, or if afraid her husband would think the birth premature, she would secure abortion by vegetable poison or by twisting or pressing the fœtus. In Aurora Island, and at Wango in San Cristoval, old women of the village determined whether a child should live. If unpromising in appearance or likely to be troublesome, the child was choked with leaves. In Banks Island, if of undesired sex, the infant was choked as soon as born. Male children were killed rather than female in that group."[2] The murder of male rather than female children appears to have resulted from the transmission of possessions in the female line of descent, and the hope of material gain when the girl should become betrothed.

Bishop Codrington found no general practice of killing one of twins in the Banks Islands, neither is there any special dislike to twins save as to grounds that they give more trouble. At Saa twins were liked, while in Motlae the villagers are proud of their twins and the parents and relations make much of them. People of Florida have a suspicion that two fathers are concerned with the conception of twins, or they assume that the mother has trespassed on the sacred place of some ghost whose power has been exercised for the production of twins.

A motherless infant in Fiji has a meagre chance of surviving, and statistics show that in seventy-five per cent. of cases in which the mother dies, death of the infant has

[1] G. Brown, "Melanesians and Polynesians," London, 1910, p. 35.

[2] Codrington's "The Melanesians," p. 229. D. Jenness and A. Ballantyne, "The Northern D'Entrecasteaux," 1920, p. 106.

Women and Girls at Kiriwina, S.E. New Guinea, showing Covering worn by Women after Childbirth.

(George Brown : " Melanesians and Polynesians.")

been the result. The grandmother will take the child from house to house imploring nursing mothers to feed it, but as a rule there is no ready response, for women say they have not sufficient milk for their own children.[1] Corroborative evidence of the unwillingness of women to give their milk to a strange child comes from New Britain, where "Women have plenty of milk but a woman is unwilling to suckle any child beside her own from a superstitious notion that the stranger lives while her own child dies." [2]

Assuming that the child is welcome; in what way is the infant matured? and what physical cares are bestowed? There are, of course, standards of physical beauty, and in New Georgia the midwives carry out a process of massage by pressing warm leaves all over the body and limbs of the child, while they seek to enhance its comeliness by drawing out the fingers and pressing the nose. In the south-east of New Guinea, at Kiriwina, the mother tries to encourage the growth and powers of speech of her child by holding it up in presentation to the first full moon after its birth.[3]

The unfortunate infant in Fiji begins life by receiving a dose of medicine to cause vomiting, for it is thought advantageous to begin life with a clear stomach. The emetic used is a little juice from the candle-nut tree, and after this unpleasant incident there follows a cold bath. For two or three days the milk colostrum of the mother is held to be unwholesome, so it is drawn off and thrown away, an unfortunate arrangement, for this milk has special aperient properties which clear the bowel of meconium. A wet nurse is procured, and in order to avoid evil results this woman must observe certain restrictions. She is not allowed to bathe or fish in salt-water, neither must there be any great disparity between the age of her own child and that of the one she is feeding. [4] In Fiji, the only substitute

[1] Thomson's "The Fijians," p. 213.
[2] Brown's "Melanesians and Polynesians," p. 55.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 37.
[4] Thomson's "The Fijians," p. 211.

for milk is water in which the stalks of the taro, or sweet potato, have been boiled; such food is very deficient in protein. Children of Tonga are reared on a diet of coconut milk and bread fruit, while in the Gilbert Islands children are fed with a kind of butter made from the fruit of the pandanus, a diet which they supplement by drinking coconut milk through a hollow rush. One very objectionable custom is reported, namely, the mastication of food by the mother, who passes the bolus to the child. Such a custom is extremely reprehensible, for the women are heavy smokers, and a taint of tobacco juice must be noxious to the child.[1]

Women of primitive races appear to have solved the difficulty of carrying children in a way which causes a minimum of fatigue, and at the same time leaves the parent with both hands free. In Papua the child from its earliest days is placed in a hammock of vegetable fibre woven into a fine mesh, and in this receptacle the infant can be seen kicking merrily. The ends of the hammock can be tied together in such a way that the mother can place the loop over her head so that the child is slung on her back or in front, just below the breast. When the parent is at work in the house the hammock is suspended from one of the cross beams, where it hangs like the cocoon of a moth.[2]

When judging of the humanity of treatment, one must carefully take into account the great temperamental and racial differences between our own children and those of primitive races. Treatment and conditions which would be regarded here as unjustifiable are of no hardship to the child of primitive man, for as Norman Hardy remarks: "One trait particularly noticeable among all children of savage races is silent philosophy. No matter what happens

[1] Thomson's "The Fijians," p. 215.

[2] N. H. Hardy and E. W. Elkington, "The Savage South Seas," London, 1907, p. 35.

these babies remain serenely calm. They may be left for hours without food or drink. They may be hung upside down, dropped, or trodden on. In fact any calamity may befall them, but still they are silent. The only difference that is evident is when they have been uncomfortable for hours and are suddenly put right, then they resume their kicking, but very soon even this form of exuberance subsides, and silence, unmoved silence is restored." [1] A very fine testimonial which may arouse the jealousy of European mothers.

Expectant women among the Melanesians of British New Guinea observe food taboos which include avoidance of the bandicoot, certain fish, and the large lizard ; there is also a peculiar belief that labour will be unduly prolonged should the pregnant woman walk about by night. Food taboos may continue after delivery, and at Waga Waga, in the extreme south-east of New Guinea, the mother is restricted, for at least a month after delivery, to a diet consisting of boiled taro and the fruit of a certain tree. Progress toward convalescence is marked by a series of feasts at each of which some addition is made to the diet which may safely be taken by the mother. In the case of a first-born child, the father is expected to remain in the " potuma " for six months. He may eat fish, but must abstain for a month from dog, pig, turtle, and all birds. Any violation of food taboos is said to cause illness of the child. The father is not allowed to touch a first-born child until it is five to eight months of age, and when contact between father and child is no longer held to be dangerous, the latter receives gifts of shell beads which are tied round wrists and elbows.[2]

In cases of prolonged labour the husband may be sent for in order to perform certain symbolic acts such as the

[1] Hardy and Elkington's " The Savage South Seas," p. 36.

[2] C. G. Seligman, " Melanesians of British New Guinea," London, 1910, pp. 85, 86, 487.

opening of lids of boxes, untying his hair, and removing the tight bracelets from his arms. The new-born child is treated by gentle massage and washing each day at the hands of the paternal or maternal grandmother. "The muscles are gently kneaded with the bare hand, previously warmed at the fire, and the joints are flexed and extended. The head is stroked from before backward with one hand, both laterally and near the vertex." [1]

The Melanesian appears to associate the birth of a *first* child with the possible occurrence of some undefined misfortune, for restrictions affecting both parents are most stringent in case of a first confinement. Seclusion of the mother is of three weeks' duration at the time of first-born delivery, while for a subsequent child the period of isolation after delivery is from ten to fourteen days.

Regular suckling takes place for a full year, after which intermittent lactation continues possibly for a further period of twelve months. When the infant is four or six months of age a little roasted ripe banana is given, along with other vegetable food and well cooked fish in small quantities.

Local beliefs respecting twins vary greatly according to locality.[2] "Twins excite no surprise or disgust and are well treated," or "they are regarded with disfavour though no special hypothesis is evoked to account for their occurrence, and although they are not considered a disgrace, public opinion formerly permitted the mother to suffocate one of them immediately after its birth." [3] Naming, ear-piercing, and the assumpton of a perineal band are important events marking the advance of years, and as a general rule each stage is recognised by a public festival and feast.

[1] A. Grimble, "From Birth to Death in the Gilbert Islands," *J.A.I.*, 1921, p. 25 (skilled massage to adjust position of fœtus). See also, Jenness and Ballantyne's "The Northern D'Entrecasteaux," p. 105 (natives not without knowledge of obstetrics).

[2] In the "D'Entrecasteaux" no special notice is taken of twins who are thought to result from the mother eating two joined bananas.

[3] Seligman's "Melanesians of British New Guinea," pp. 86, 488.

In the Tubetube district children who have not reached the age of eight years have to obey food taboos respecting the avoidance of turtle and proscribed fish, and at the time of removal of such restrictions the child is informed of his own totem and that of his father. A perineal band is then assumed, the father being responsible for fixation, without ceremony, neither is there any ceremonial at the time when a girl assumes petticoats.[1] As a general rule young Melanesian children are entirely in the charge of women, but in Banks Island boys are soon sent to sleep in the public Club-house, for the parents say, "He is a boy, it is time to separate him from the girls." In Santa Cruz this habit of sleeping in the Club-house is gradually acquired, for at first the boys merely visit the chiefs' canoe-house during the day time, custom permits a return to the domestic hearth at eventime. Eventually this concession is cancelled and the boys remain in the men's club-houses prior to the ceremony of ear and nose boring. A New Hebrides youth who has taken up residence in a Club-house is expected to exercise great reserve toward his sisters and mother. Names are avoided and if there is a chance meeting between brother and sister the latter is expected to hide. A youth must not enter a hut in which his sister is present; he may not follow the track of her footsteps.[2] The mutual avoidance dates from the time when a boy assumes the perineal band or a girl is tattooed. As a consequence of the fear that contact with females will make a boy effeminate the reserve between mother and son increases as the boy develops. A boy may enter the hut and ask for food, which is placed near to him by the mother, though she must take care not to give it into his hands. Should conversation take place between mother and son, the former is required by custom to sit at a distance and turn her face from the boy while speaking.

[1] Seligman's "Melanesians of British New Guinea," p. 490.
[2] Codrington's "The Melanesians," p. 231.

Every effort is made to render the youth quite unemotional, and not merely in Melanesia, but among primitive races generally there is a stringent code prohibiting display of affection when the boy is approaching puberty. Such restrictions are a logical introduction to the adult period in which the youth will be required to take a responsible part in tribal government, which is the prerogative of men.

The parental attitude toward young children appears to be one of benign neglect, custom may have sanctioned the observance of restrictions of diet, the avoidance of female companions in the case of pubescent boys, the tattooing of girls in successive instalments, each of which marks an advance in physical development, and when the voice of custom has been obeyed for countless generations there is no deviation from the prescribed course of training. Parents do not, however, make themselves responsible for any control or guidance of offspring in addition to the stereotyped demands made by society. In illustration of the point it may be said that " obedience to parents was not esteemed a duty when there was no punishment to follow its neglect. If the parents told a boy to go to the garden, or to some other work, and he did not wish to do so, he simply ran away to the beach or to the bush and came home when he pleased. He would have his share of the regular evening meal, but most of his food he picked up when and where he could." [1]

The Club-house association which affects the early mental development of boys approaching puberty is regarded as indispensable by the Mafulu mountain dwelling tribes of British New Guinea. The right to enter a Club-house is conferred before the boy has reached the age of four years, apparently a considerable time in advance of the period at which the right can be exercised. Mafulu people likewise confer on young girls the privilege of visiting a Club-house though they may not sleep there, but

[1] Brown's " Melanesians and Polynesians," p. 50.

the visits must cease when the time for wearing a perineal band has arrived. The right to wear the perineal band, and in the case of boys the privilege of dancing and drum beating, is conferred at a special feast during which the Club-house is decorated with fruits. A child who is about to receive the rights is carried to the balcony of the Club-house where rows of men are seated and very quickly the infant is passed from man to man, so travelling from one end of the row to the other. A boy who is ready to receive permission to dance and beat a drum receives the instrument from an adult member of the Club-house, to whom he returns it when a few taps have been given. The boy is afterwards required to retire to the bush for the purpose of making his own drum, during the manufacture of which various taboos and precautions have to be observed.[1] Drum-making by pubescent boys is a usual and widely distributed practice which receives somewhat detailed attention in the chapter concerning a general education afforded to youths among primitive tribes.

Conferring of a name on the infant is usually attended by ceremonial, and with regard to the island of Saibai, Torres Strait, it is of interest to note that the name is selected by the father's eldest brother, or possibly by the paternal grandfather or grandmother. "An old man related to the husband faces the woman and filling his mouth with the milk of the coconut spits it into the air, saying 'A., wife of B, has a child within her, let its name be C.' The name given is always masculine, a change is therefore necessary should a female child be born. A communal meal is provided in order to celebrate the conception of an hitherto childless woman. Each member of the family is expected to partake of food and from the time of the meal the expectant mother wears an apron of fibre.

"At the time the name is given the woman stoops

[1] Williamson's "The Ways of a South Sea Savage," p. 258.

forward and standing with her legs apart throws behind and between them the embryo of a mangrove. From its course and the position in which it comes to rest the sex of the child is judged. If it circles to one side a girl will be born, if it stops directly behind her a boy. The fibre apron, made in imitation of a fœtus, is then removed and guarded by an aunt of the pregnant woman until the child is born." [1]

Woman of Saibai (Torres Strait) divining the sex of her unborn child with the aid of an embryo of Mangrove (*Cambridge University Press*).

Decline of the Polynesian type through factors discussed in Chapter I (page 20) is deplored, for the romance of early colonisation in the Pacific has fired the imagination of all investigators. These are agreed upon the fine physical and intellectual qualities of a race which, proceeding from northern India, passed through Java and Borneo to com-

[1] Reports of Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait, vol. v, p. 196.

mence a conquest extending from New Guinea to Easter Island, and Hawaii to the Chatham Islands.

Modern factors, such as European diseases, and destruction of social customs, account in part for decimation of the population. But from early times infanticide was extensively practised.

Ellis, a missionary, writing in 1832, says that: "We have long known that the Sandwich Islanders (Hawaiians) practised infanticide but had no idea of the extent to which it prevailed on all islands, and among all ranks of the people, except among the higher class of chiefs." Sometimes children were strangled, but more often they were buried alive. The Society Islanders (Tahitians) probably practised infanticide more than any other people in the Pacific and sometimes children were destroyed when nearly able to walk. Marquesans are said to have been concerned with shortage of food supply, but more generally infanticide appears to have been due to trouble and difficulty of rearing offspring. Ellis thinks that in Hawaii two-thirds of the children perished in infancy.[1]

J. B. Stair states that before the introduction of Christianity not less than two-thirds of the Samoan race died in infancy and childhood through carelessness and mismanagement. Children were stuffed with unsuitable food, exposed to the sun's glare and night damps, neither were there any remedies for childish ailments. For the first three days the infant was fed with juice from the chewed kernels of coconuts. A woman was paid for this attention, and in order to prolong her work she would declare that the mother's milk was not yet fit for consumption. It is quite easy to believe that "Many victims fell to this improper treatment."[2] Modification of head form by pressure with the hand and proximity of flat stones cannot be regarded as

[1] W. Ellis, "Polynesian Researches," 1832, vol. iv, p. 327.
[2] J. B. Stair, "Old Samoa," 1897, pp. 175–7, 219.

a cruelty. The mother merely wished the child to conform to existing standards of beauty, the pressure was cautiously applied and there is no good reason to believe that cranial deformation accounted for an appreciable part of the infantile mortality. Parental discipline appears to have been arbitrary, for " at one time the child was indulged in every wish, while at another time he was severely beaten for a trivial offence."

Turner's wide experience of Polynesia led him to state that infantile mortality was high through bad management, possibly deaths were due more to carelessness, indifference, and ignorance rather than to deliberate design, for Turner tells us that at childbirth a prayer was made asking that the infant might survive : " O Moso ! be propitious. Let this my daughter be preserved alive. Be compassionate to us ! Be compassionate to us ! and we will do anything you wish at a redemption price." [1]

Maternity and Infant Welfare in India.—Among high caste Hindoos a " taboo " is prescribed as soon as pregnancy is detected, for when in this condition the person is peculiarly liable to malign influence from " the evil eye." In order to avoid the dangers associated with pregnancy the expectant mother makes a ceremonial parting and dressing of the hair, which is thought to have the power of harbouring malignant spirits. During the fourth, sixth, and eighth months before delivery charms and amulets are presented to the mother, while rice and fruits are placed on her lap as emblems of fertility, and a special rite is performed in order that the offspring may be a boy.[2]

According to the Indian caste system, a woman must obtain a husband from a caste higher than her own, so there may be a difficulty in obtaining husbands. Moreover, unmarried adult daughters are thought a disgrace to

[1] G. Turner, " Nineteen Years in Polynesia," 1860, pp. 174, 179.
[2] W. Crooke, " Natives of Northern India," London, 1907, p. 196.

the family, hence the tendency to female infanticide.[1] Excess of females might cause the tribe to be preyed upon by neighbours in quest of wives.[2] Twins are unwelcome, and in former days they were killed or handed over to some wandering fakir. Normally, however, there is great sorrow when a child dies, and in the Punjab there is a common practice of burying the body under the threshold of the hut, so that the departed soul may be reincarnated in some future member of the family.[3] The Shans have no superstition about twins, though triplets are regarded as inhuman.[4]

Fortunately, there are among Hindu women comparatively few cases of difficult parturition, as death of the mother would be the probable result, for during delivery she is in the hands of incapable and unskilled women, whose only idea of securing delivery is connected with the employment of charms for scaring evil spirits. Seclusion of the mother for a period of fifteen days is the rule among high-caste people, but among Hindus of the lower castes the mother bathes and rejoins her family almost immediately after delivery, at which time a gun is fired in order to scare evil spirits.

Infantile tetanus is somewhat common, and in order to prevent death from this cause a special ceremonial is performed on the sixth day after birth. Women watch during the whole of one night, there is loud, continuous singing, drum beating, and talking to drive away the fiend. Some of the *vigilantes* surround the mother's bed equipped with nets and creepers wherewith to entangle the evil spirit which visits the child.[5] There is a widespread belief in the efficacy of a " soul trap " which may be used by medicine

[1] Wm. Crooke, " Things Indian," London, 1906, p. 270 (see notes, p. 270–1, origin, progress and decline of infanticide in India).
[2] T. C. Hodson, " Female Infanticide in India," *Man*, 1914, p. 44.
[3] Crooke's " Things Indian," p. 61.
[4] Milne's " Shans at Home," p. 183.
[5] Crooke's " Natives of Northern India," p. 198.

men in order to capture and return to the body any soul which is causing illness by seeking an escape. In the Ethnographical Collection of the British Museum such a soul trap is to be seen, and in attempting to entangle the demon of tetanus the Hindu women are merely expressing a very usual belief of primitive races.

During the vigil a large fire is kept constantly burning, and names are carefully avoided, for it is thought that the fiend may take the form of a night bird which has the power to suck blood from anyone whose name it hears. In like manner, the demon may assume the form of a cat or hen, in which disguise it inflicts injury on mother and child.

Brahmanical rites have some analogy with certain points in the beliefs of primitive people who allege a very close and sympathetic connection between father and child. The "couvade," to which references have been made, imposes restrictions of action and diet on the father during the first week, month, or longer period, of the infant's existence.[1] The Shan father must not frown lest the baby should have a bad temper,[2] and it is held that any violation of taboo by the father will cause injury to the sensitive child. Brahmans teach that the Hindu father should bathe as an act of ceremonial cleansing immediately after the birth of the child. He is also expected to offer prayers to Ganesa, patron of good luck and remover of obstacles, imploring that the child be blessed with wisdom, goodness, and strength. Further, the petition must request that the mother may be forgiven if she has neglected any of the prescribed rules respecting food, and it is particularly petitioned that such neglect may not result in evil consequences for the infant.[3] Supplication is made to the patron ancestors who guard the family hearth, material benefits are

[1] This work, p. 50.
[2] Milne's "Shans at Home," p. 182.
[3] Crooke's "Natives of Northern India," p. 197.

invoked; the father takes the child in his arms, and while touching each limb in turn requests that the child may be endowed with strength. As a final rite the father is purified by sprinkling of holy water from a brush of sacred grass.[1]

The naming and early education of Hindu children vary in method with the religious beliefs of the parents. Among Muhammedans a name is selected by opening the Koran at random and noting the first letter of the first word in the third line; or the name may be selected because it is considered lucky, or possibly on account of its connection with an ancestor, or owing to some special religious significance. Initiation takes place in the fourth or fifth year, and at this time the novice is expected to recite after the priest a chapter from the Koran, while circumcision is an important ceremonial. Boys only are initiated, for to the Muhammedan woman is negligible so far as her connection with religious beliefs is concerned, socially too she is insignificant, and as among primitive tribes generally, the races of India, whether adherents of Brahmanism or Muhammedanism, regard woman chiefly as a domestic asset and a means of procreating the race.

A child of Brahmanical parents is likely to be named after the particular deity who gave heed to the parents' intercession for offspring. The patron deity assumes the *rôle* of godfather or godmother, and the name itself may express a conviction that the infant is a reincarnated ancestral spirit. Among Brahmans, the name has a sacredness which must not be violated, for it is regarded as a part of the personality, to be guarded and kept from the knowledge of evil spirits. One name suffices for everyday use, while another which is never used in addressing the infant is whispered in the child's ear.[2] At the time of naming

[1] Crooke's "Natives of Northern India," p. 197.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 199, and A. W. Howitt, "Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," London, 1904, p. 737.

the God Ganesa is invoked, and the infant receives an offering of the fine products of the cow. For the first time the infant may see the sun, and with his foot planted on a coin the gods are asked that riches may accrue until gold may be regarded as the dust beneath his feet.

After the naming ceremony there is the very important initiation into caste, for during infancy the child is free from caste taboo, because he is not regarded as having a soul which can be contaminated, and not until the initiation is complete are the laws of caste applicable to him. Ceremonial feeding of the child with sacred rice, likewise tonsure, frees the infant from pollution and gives him a clean social and religious initiative. Ear-boring is said to give protection against demons. The sacred cord used for girding the child marks his social standing as one of the " twice born " castes, and within this cord, sanctified by blessings from the Brahman, no evil can penetrate. These incidents of initiation mark the commencement of a new life with accompanying endowment of social and religious status. The Vedic hymns may now be learned and recited, spiritual education has commenced, and the boy is taught to recite the famous prayer to the sun. Doctrines of metempsychosis and reincarnation are common throughout India, and as one might expect, naming and early education are influenced by the belief that during pregnancy an ancestral spirit enters into the body of the child.

Among wild tribes of Eastern India the child is named after a deceased ancestor whose soul is supposed to be reincarnated in the baby. After conception, the mother names it by one conventional name regardless of sex, and afterwards a pet name is usually added.[1]

Girls may be named after the tree which chances to be in bloom when they are born. The Kandhs of Central India

[1] Crooke's " Things Indian," p. 344. Compare Reports of Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait, vol. v, p. 196.

divine the name of the reincarnated spirit by throwing grains of rice into water and noting the number which float and the distance from the surface. In the Khasis tribe the child's grandmother selects three ancestral names, each of which is represented by a drop of liquid on a plantain leaf. The name given to the particle of water which takes the longest time to fall is said to be the name of the spirit which has been reincarnated. Names of dead relatives are abandoned for generations lest ghosts should appear when names are uttered, a belief by no means confined to India; in fact, similar ideas have been recorded among Australian tribes, and the belief in and fear of ghosts is exceedingly common among primitive races. Many Hindus regard a first-born son as subject to evil influences.[1] The third and eighth children are also believed to be peculiarly liable to misfortune.

The early training of children in a Hindu family is specially concerned with details relating to Laws of Caste, and among these food taboos, prescribed methods of cooking, rules for selecting actions which are lucky, observance of fashions in dress and ornament, are all considered very important. In view of these methods of training, the precocity, sedateness, and placidity of Indian children is not surprising. The question of good manners likewise receives attention and the most trivial acts are carefully considered. There is a correct attitude to be observed in the presence of guests or social superiors, and a man of good breeding will always sit in erect posture. "He must not fling his legs about carelessly, but must draw them in beneath him. He must not leave his knees exposed, but must arrange the skirt of his upper garment decorously above them. The 'Salaam' is regulated to express degree of respect due to a stranger or visitor. In receiving a guest it is a question of the highest importance whether his rank

[1] Crooke's "Things Indian," p. 100.

requires that he should or should not be met at the door, assisted to alight from a carriage, or be conducted to a seat. Inquiries about health should follow a well-defined course, neglect of which implies a lack of good breeding. In a well regulated Indian family all these points of etiquette are carefully explained to the boy as soon as he passes the stage of infancy." [1]

Fortunately, a reverence for parents is inculcated by moral teaching which counteracts the indulgence of boys, without whom the Hindu husband would count life a failure. Infanticide, which is chiefly practised on female children, is not altogether an accurate criterion of the general attitude toward girls, who, though not so welcome as boys, seldom suffer ill-treatment, and at times receive definite tokens of parental affection.[2]

To be barren is a cause for shame and sorrow, and the ban of sterility may be removed by prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, wearing charms, infant sacrifice, or drinking a potion in which sacred texts have been placed. The last-named method is practised chiefly by women of Muhammedan faith.

According to modern educational ideas and ideals any mutilation or deformation is an act of gross immorality, but in attempting to make her child conform to the prevalent and generally accepted standards of physical beauty primitive woman is acting with good intent, and, as she herself believes, in the interest of her progeny. The very widespread custom of cranial deformation, which was practised among Peruvians, and is still in vogue among Indian tribes of North America, Fijians, and pagan tribes of Borneo, is common in the Punjab, where the head of the infant is daily pressed to make the forehead broad and flat. The skull may be modified by compression in moulds of clay, or by placing the infant with the head below foot level, in such a way that the weight of the body causes cranial depression. Often,

[1] Crooke's "Natives of Northern India," p. 177. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 180.

Andamanese Mother and Child.

(A. R. Brown: "The Andaman Islands." Cambridge University Press.)

Sakai Group, Malay Peninsula.

(W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden : " Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula.")

too, the nose is elongated, and barbaric as such customs appear, they are to be rightly regarded as expressions of maternal affection, not as methods of torture. The customs themselves are undesirable and should be discontinued; nevertheless, the motives which prompt such deformation are not to be condemned.

With the Shans, as is the case in Hindu families, a male child brings more gladness than a female, and there is a general belief that barrenness results from misdeeds, while children are rewards for good actions performed in previous existences; infanticide is unknown. A Shan baby is welcomed with patting and slapping, while his respiratory organs are stimulated by a cold douche. Should this fail he is shaken head downward until a cry is evoked, after which there is washing and binding the stomach with a band. The feeding of Shan children with pounded rice is most injudicious, digestive troubles and convulsions are so common that it is no unusual thing to find only two or three children surviving out of a family of twelve.[1] There is an assumption that the infant has spiritual godparents who keep away demons, and when the child smiles in his sleep the parents say that his spirit parents are playing with him. It is believed that the soul enters the child twenty or thirty days after the mother has conceived. The soul is thought to enter the mother in conjunction with the vegetable food eaten.[2] The treatment of the mother during and after delivery is rational in the prohibition of work for a period of thirty days, during which time she does not even cook her own food. A fire is kept burning night and day in the lying-in room whether the season is hot or cool, and this must undoubtedly tend to make the mother susceptible to chills when her period of detention is completed.

[1] Milne's "Shans at Home," pp. 31–2.

[2] Compare with reference in W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, "Pagan Races of Malay Peninsula," London, 1906, vol. i, p. 1.

At the naming feast presents are given, and water from a pot which contained these is poured over the infant, while parents congratulate the midwife, who sings to the child, "Now you are a full month old may you be healthy and free from the ninety-six diseases." The customs adopted by Shan women in order to dispel evil influences from the infant are of unusual interest though not by any means unparalleled in other far removed quarters of the globe. Should the infant be delicate and liable to numerous small accidents, there is the assumption that some evil spirit is exerting a malign influence. The name may be changed more than once in order to deceive the demon of mischief, and if the child is a boy the name of a girl may be given, while the deception is made more complete by dressing the child in petticoats. In order to mislead malevolent spirits the child is left in the bush by the mother, who tells a female follower the exact place. The mother returns home, where she shows all the signs of grief until her female friend returns by night, bringing the infant, which the mother loudly declares to be quite different from her lost baby. In some instances the Shan father has taken the infant to a cemetery, where a mock funeral has been performed in order to deceive the molesting demon. Very small children, just old enough to toddle, carry small sticks for the fire, and accompany the mother to the well, where they fill tiny buckets.

Early religious instruction is not neglected and the Shan father takes his boys to the monastery, where offerings are made. Little girls are taken by the mother, who teaches them to kneel before the sacred images with the palms of their hands together, and arms stretched out in supplication.

Children of both sexes play together until the age of five or six is reached, and at this time they drift apart, the boys become engaged with older youths in herding cattle, while the girls commence domestic duties.

" No ceremony marks the passage of childhood into girlhood." [1] Shan girls are seldom married before the age of fourteen years, and it is not unusual for them to remain single until the age of eighteen, for great freedom of choice is allowed to them.[2]

The Naga tribes of Manipur recognise the birth of a child by holding a domestic "genna," the duration of which varies from tribe to tribe and from one village to another. A " genna " consisting of a series of prohibitions respecting sexual intercourse, food, and so forth, is the Naga method of expressing superstitions which are associated with any change or crisis. Hence there are " gennas " appropriate for seed time or harvest, birth, death, and burial.[3]

Tangkhuls observe the " couvade " which imposes restrictions on the father of a newly-born infant. The male parent may not leave the village, neither may he perform any task for a period of five days after the birth of a girl, or six days after the birth of a boy. During this period no stranger may visit the house, and in some villages the prohibitive time is one month. All these precautions arise from a fear of vague undefined misfortunes which are thought to be a menace during pregnancy, delivery, and the early days of infancy.

The early treatment of infants is not rational with the Tangkhuls, who place chewed rice in the child's mouth and afterwards immerse the babe in very hot water, treatment which is supposed to prevent the occurrence of pains about the back and loins in later life. The mother is caused to perspire profusely by wrapping her in blankets soaked with hot water until faintness results; this treatment is repeated several times, but about the third day after delivery the woman recommences domestic duties. Such attentions seem well calculated to produce the maximum mortality

[1] Milne's " Shans at Home," p. 67. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 75.
[3] T. H. Hutton, " The Sema Nagas," 1921, p. 233.

among mothers and infants. With primitive races generally the chief concern is to insure against non-human forces, while physical dangers are lightly regarded.[1]

A Naga naming ceremony usually takes place at the close of the birth genna and the main features of the ceremony are sacrifice combined with a search for omens which shall determine the name, which is usually a compound of several ancestral names. These names of defunct relations are thought to exert a powerful influence for good or evil during the whole span of life, possibly because there is a sub-conscious idea that the name calls into activity the mental characteristics of ancestors whose spirit counterparts are still able to influence the mental development of the child. Lack of control and discipline is a feature of the Naga parents' relation to offspring. "Children are sometimes scolded but seldom chastised," [2] an indulgence which leads to waywardness of Naga youths.

Small children play with pegtops and stilts, and men practice wrestling, long jumps, spear throwing, and stone-lifting. Games similar to draughts and "fox and geese" are played. The tug-of-war game of the Tangkhuls is part of a religious ceremony connected with the growth of crops, while dancing practised in the villages is closely connected with the religious life." [3]

The Todas of Southern India were in 1906 studied by Dr. W. H. R. Rivers,[4] who states that ceremonies connected with childbirth begin before the birth of the child, namely, in the fifth month of pregnancy, during which the pregnant woman leaves her home to take residence in a hut, the degree of isolation of which depends on the proximity of a sacred dairy to the woman's native village.

[1] Compare Skeat and Blagden's "Pagan Races of Malay Peninsula," vol. ii, p. 13.

[2] T. C. Hodson, "The Naga Tribes of Manipur," London, 1911, p. 7.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

[4] Rivers's "The Todas," pp. 323–4.

During seclusion there is burning of the wrists with a hot stick so that keloids are formed, but with regard to this body-marking process the investigator was not able to obtain full information owing to the reticence of his interpreter, who implied that the subject was not one which could be discussed with a stranger. Wrist burning is supposed to cure the aching of arms which Toda boys suffer when milking, and is it not possible that the marking of a woman's wrists is intended to ward off the pains of delivery?

In the majority of instances discussed we have found that, owing to the superstitions connected with delivery, the primitive woman is obliged to retire to an isolated dwelling until the child is born; possibly there is confinement to the dwelling for a period of several days or weeks. The Toda woman, however, returns to her home after the branding ceremonies and is delivered there. Mother and child go to the seclusion hut two or three days after the birth, and elaborate cleansing ceremonies for husband and wife have to be observed. Until the end of the third month no one but the mother sees the child, and at the end of that period the infant's face is uncovered. Should the infant be a boy, he is taken by the father, early in the morning, to the threshold of a sacred dairy, where both bow down in such a way that the forehead of the child touches the ground. The whole of Toda religious belief centres round herds of sacred buffalo and ritual connected with the conversion of milk from a sacred product, which may not be taken with impunity, to an ordinary food substance. When the father reaches the place where buffaloes are standing he uncovers the face of the child, whose gaze is directed toward the rising sun. In the case of a girl, the babe is taken by the mother, who uncovers the infant's face at the place where women usually assemble to receive buttermilk from the dairy-men. This ritual of dedication is of great importance, for it illustrates the parents' desire to

bring the infant ceremonially into contact with what is sacred, namely, the dairy, the herd of buffaloes and the sun. The lives of primitive races show a very clear recognition between the sacred and the profane, and in the Toda ceremony there is the obvious desire to avoid evil by an observance of ritual.[1]

On the subject of infanticide, Dr. Rivers remarks: "I do not think there is the slightest doubt that it was at one time very prevalent, and that it has greatly diminished in frequency, but that it is still practised to some extent. It is improbable that the people resorted to the practice because of shortage of food." [2] With regard to twins, it was the custom to kill one, even when both were boys, and in case twin girls were born, both would be killed.[3]

The naming ceremony is accompanied by shaving of the boy's head, on which occasion the maternal uncle promises a gift of a calf. A girl usually receives her name from the father's sister, and at this time a lucky bracelet of small bones and stones is placed round the infant's wrist to ward off sickness.

Ear-piercing, a ceremony performed for boys only, is regarded as essential before a youth may enter the sacred precincts of the dairy. The operation is performed by a maternal uncle, who pierces one ear, and by any man of the division to which the boy does not belong, who pierces the other ear. The boy concludes the ceremony by saluting all present, both male and female, who are older than himself, in acknowledgment of a gift of money which is made at this time.[4] "The custom of infant marriage is well established and a child may be betrothed when only two or three years of age." [5]

[1] Rivers's "The Todas," p. 331. Compare with account of dedication of Pawnee infant, "American Bureau of Ethnology," 1900–1 (22nd Report), pp. 222–3 *et seq.*

[2] Rivers's "The Todas," p. 478.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 480. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 332–5. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 502.

Magical protection of the expectant mother and the newly-born child is the Veddas' method of dealing with the dangers of childbirth. As soon as pregnancy is diagnosed the protective aid of "yaku," or spirits, is invoked by a ceremonial dance which is thought to ensure safety during gestation and delivery. One group of Veddas, the Kalukalaebe, seek the aid of a local Shaman or medicine man, who contributes a charm of beads, which are laid out on a piece of cloth in the presence of the pregnant woman, while the aid of "Elle Yakini" is invoked in order that the dangers of childbirth may be avoided. An offering of food is made to this patron goddess of childbirth, to whose honour a second dance is given in recognition of a safe delivery.[1]

Delivery usually takes place in a cave, no screen is erected, neither is there any recognised midwife; anyone may assist. As a rule the mother remains in the cave for three or four days after the birth of the child. "At Sitala Wanniya no food taboos are observed, but pregnant women in Henebedda avoid fruits which are said to produce diarrhœa and vomiting, also two kinds of jam which purge and are believed to induce still birth."[2] A nursing mother must not eat fat of the monitor lizard, and fat of the spotted deer is avoided by the nursing mother because it is supposed to make her milk inferior. "Among all the settled Veddas, as among rural Sinhalese, a special hut is built in which birth occurs. Death during childbirth is rare."[3] Within one month of birth the infant receives a name which is selected by the parents. Local custom varies with regard to the degree of secrecy associated with the name given. "At Godatalawa the child's name is freely mentioned, but at Sitala Wanniya and Henebedda the child is seldom called by name until he is four or five years old."[4] The reason for this is a prevalent idea that a mention of the infant's

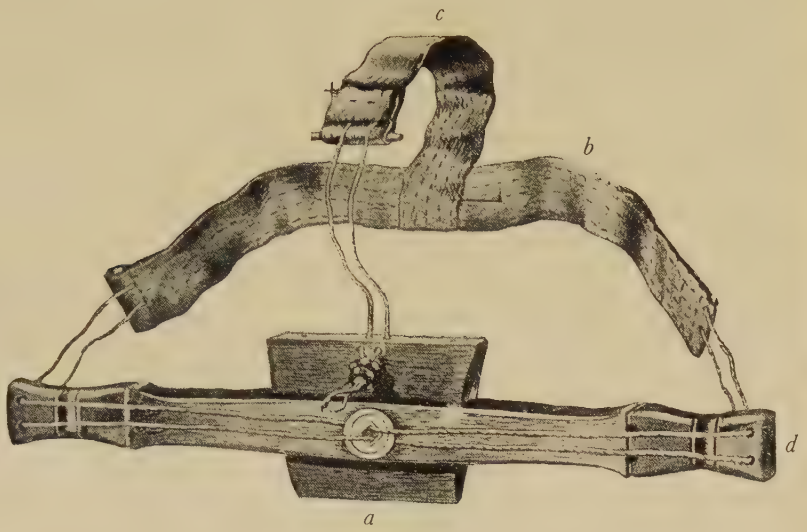
[1] Seligman's "The Veddas," p. 174.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 101–3.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 102.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

name will attract malignant spirits, "yaku," who will injure or even kill the child. Adequate protection against evil spirits and wild animals is thought to be provided by placing an arrow in the ground near a sleeping child.

The Veddas, like most parents in primitive tribes, are very indulgent toward juveniles. The request of a small child is never refused, and the infant always enjoys the best food and shelter which are procurable. Discipline by scolding and punishment is very rare; the parental treatment of children is characterised by extreme gentleness, and, according to Seligman, the young people are very truthful. Games centre round occupations with which adults are concerned. Little boys amuse themselves with bows and arrows made by the mother; bigger boys of five years of age manufacture toy weapons for themselves; small children of each sex make clay sticks, and little girls pretend to cook with miniature utensils of clay.

Child Welfare in Borneo.—Women of the Kayan tribe, Borneo, have a number of precautions to be observed during pregnancy, for there is a general belief that the development of the fœtus is influenced by sights seen by the mother. An expectant mother must avoid the sight of a long-nosed monkey because a glance at this animal is thought to cause the child to have an abnormally big nose.[1] Tying of knots is said to make delivery difficult, so also is thrusting of the hand into a small hole. The husband is forbidden to do these things which are regarded as having an undesirable influence over the development and delivery of the child. There is in Borneo a great desire for children and young married women sleep on "padi," so they may be fertile like the grain.

[1] C. Hose and Wm. McDougall, "Pagan Tribes of Borneo," London, 1912, vol. ii, p. 153. Compare J. Batchelor, "The Ainu of Japan," London, 1892, p. 44, and J. Roscoe, "The Baganda," London, 1911, p. 46. Pregnant women avoid the sight of certain monkeys because the appearance of the child might be affected.



HEAD-FLATTENING APPARATUS AS USED BY THE MALANAUS OF SARAWAK.

(*a*) is a soft pad for application to the child's forehead. (*b*, *c*) a T-strap. (*d*) is a stout bar of wood 9″ long and 3″ wide.

(*After Dr. Charles Hose.*)

(See "Pagan Tribes of Borneo," Fig. 3, p. 49, for details of use.)

A MOTHER AND CHILD OF UBIAJA IN THE ESHA COUNTRY, WEST AFRICA.

The baby is plastered with chalk to ward off disease and magic.

(*Photo : N. W. Thomas.*)

When the movements of the child are felt in the womb the mother sacrifices a young pig, charging it to convey her prayer for successful delivery to Doh Tenangan, to whom another offering is made if the normal course of pregnancy is not followed.

The midwives are selected from older females of the tribe who are said to be adept in matters connected with gynæcology and obstetrics. Information concerning details of delivery is difficult to obtain, but it is certain that the midwives hang charms in the lying-in room and apply unguents to the body of the mother. A cloth is tied tightly round the waist of the woman in order to facilitate delivery, and should labour be prolonged there is the greatest consternation. "Death at childbirth is regarded with horror, and all men flee from the house to hide." If death supervenes, the body of the mother, likewise that of the child, is buried in the earth instead of being enclosed in a coffin which, according to general custom, is raised on tall posts. "The soul of a woman who dies in childbirth goes with the souls of those who fall in battle, or die by violence, to Bawang Daha (the lake of blood)."[1]

A lotion is prepared by boiling the leaves of a weed "orobong," which is thought to be potent in assisting the body of the mother to regain normal shape. A drum is beaten to announce complete birth of the child, and all people in the house receive a present of salt from the parents, while all members of the household who were not in the dwelling when delivery occurred are expected to send a present of iron to the child as a symbol of good luck. The Kayans sometimes perform a special dance in order to facilitate delivery.[2]

Convalescence of the mother depends on her social status. Among the lower classes lighter duties are under-

[1] Hose and McDougall's "Pagan Tribes of Borneo," vol. ii, p. 153–6.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 156.

taken within twenty-four hours, whereas more wealthy women enjoy a rest for several days.[1] For a period of seventeen days the mother wears threads around her toes and thumbs as amuletic safeguards, while as a more rational preventive of relapse all hard work is avoided. Food taboos are observed by father and mother, while the infant itself is screened from the direct gaze of strangers, and no article touched by the child is allowed to pass from the possession of the parents.

Certain superstitions determine the treatment of twins, and the infanticide of one, usually the girl, results from the belief that there would be the greatest difficulty in rearing the two children, as the sympathetic bond renders each liable to the ills and weakness of the other. Sacrifice of an infant life is lightly regarded, for it is asserted that no mother could successfully rear two children, a statement which may be true in consideration of the fact that the mother carries her child continuously for the first year, when the infant is cradled in a receptacle of wood and basket-work, which can be strapped to the mother's back. During the first year the offspring is fed on the mother's milk with thick rice water, a diet which is varied by the addition of boiled wild sago and sundry animal or vegetable produce of the jungle. Lactation is, however, continued up to the end of the second year. A sickly child, without specific ailment, is taken to the chief, who spits on the sufferer, becomes angry, curses the demon responsible, and concludes by saying, "Leave the child alone, you are now matching yourself against me, the chief."

The malign influence of an evil spirit, "Toh," is especially feared during the early years of childhood, and to avoid misfortune infants are denied a name until the end of the third year. Bestowing a name reveals identity, so attracting attention, while parents who have been bereaved of

[1] Compare Thomson's "The Fijians," p. 206.

Malanau Infant (Sarawak) wearing Apparatus for Moulding the Head.
(*Photo : Dr. C. Hose :* " Pagan Tribes of Borneo.")

children take the additional precaution of selecting for the surviving child some name which is particularly unpleasant in sound or meaning. The conclusion of a successful harvest is thought to be a suitable time for the naming ceremony, possibly because the period suggests the peace and prosperity which parents desire for their children. A small wooden image is made as an effigy of the god Laki Pesong, whose special duty is a regard for child welfare. This image symbolises the presence of the deity at a feast celebrating the adoption of names which identify the recipients until they themselves become parents.[1]

The curious process of head flattening in order to make the child conform to prevailing standards of beauty is practised by the Melanaus, who are a section of the Klemantan tribe. At the end of the first month pressure is applied to the child's head by means of boards adjusted for twenty minutes daily when the infant is asleep. Applications of the pressure for this time on each of twenty successive days achieves the desired result, namely, a flattening of the brow and occiput with consequent broadening of the head so as to produce the usual standard of beauty.[2]

The desire for children is so great that a complex system of adoption has been evolved. "When a woman has remained infertile for some years after her marriage, the couple seek to adopt one or more children. They generally prefer the child of a relative, but may take any child, even a captive or a slave child whose parents are willing to resign all rights in it. A child is often taken over from parents oppressed by poverty, in many cases some article of value or a supply of 'padi' may be given in exchange." Desire for return of the child is the cause of dissension, for usually the adopted child takes in every way the position of a child born to the parents.

[1] Hose and McDougall's "The Pagan Tribes of Borneo," vol. ii, pp. 24, 160.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 48–9.

"Some of the Klemantans (Barawans and Lelaks) in the Baram practise a curious symbolic ceremony on the adoption of a child." Both man and wife observe the usual taboos of pregnancy until the appointed day for adoption arrives. The woman sits up in the attitude commonly adopted for delivery and the child is pushed forward from behind between the woman's legs, and if it is a young child it is put to the breast and encouraged to suck. Later it receives a new name. So complete is the adoption that women will not admit the fact, the parents regard the child so entirely as their own that it is almost impossible for them to find words which will express the difference between the adopted child and the offspring. "This is especially the case if the woman has actually suckled the child." [1]

Thus far regional survey has been confined to the selection of evidence from investigators chiefly in Australasia and India, and in the succeeding chapter it is proposed still further to pursue the study of child welfare by a consideration of the treatment of mother and child among primitive races of other continents.

Section III.—The American Continents

Maternity in Rigorous Climates.—In turning from the genial warmth of the tropics, where abundance of food is the general rule, to the less favourable conditions of Siberia, or the dreary plains of the extreme north of North America, where the struggle for existence is at times acute, do we find a new series of ideas concerning children? Are additions to the family made welcome? If so, in what manner is the young life protected, and what are the customs determining the course of juvenile existence?

Eskimo.—Among the Central Eskimos a hut is built

[1] Hose and McDougall's "The Pagan Tribes of Borneo," vol. i, pp. 78–9.

Eskimo Girls Dancing.

(*Photo : Jesup Expedition.* American Museum of Natural History, New York.)

Well-cared-for Chukchee Children.

(*Photo : Jesup Expedition.* American Museum of Natural History, New York.)

for the isolation of the expectant mother, the building takes the form of a skin and framework structure in summer, or a snow-house in winter. The infant is dressed by the midwife, whose equipment includes a stove, a small gown of bird skin, a jacket and boots made from the skin of a fawn, also a small, lightly-fitting hood made from the skin of a hare.

Food taboos obtaining after delivery are of exceptionally long duration, so that for a full year after the birth of the child the mother may not eat raw flesh, or the meat from any creature which has been shot through the heart. During five consecutive days after delivery the mother may not take any food except the meat of an animal which has been killed by her husband or by a boy on his first hunting expedition. Custom demands that the mother shall throw away all her old clothing on return to the domestic circle, and there is a further superstition which requires the mother to use a specially constructed entrance to the domicile.

The infant receives no solid food, but a curious custom requires the mother to place a portion of each of her own meals in a small bag, evidently as an exercise in self-denial, for there is no apparent use for these savings.[1]

A bereaved mother shows the greatest distress, and for a year marks the period of mourning by abstaining from raw flesh, a greatly appreciated food among the Eskimos; cooking her food in a small pot set apart exclusively for the purpose, and carrying the boots of the deceased infant for the whole time of mourning.

Again among the Eskimo we have to note the practice of naming the child before birth. "Some relative or friend lays her hand on the mother's stomach and decides what the infant is to be called," and as the name serves

[1] F. Boas, "The Central Eskimo," Report of American Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, 1888, p. 611.

for a child of either sex there is no necessity to change the title after delivery.

"The children are treated very kindly and are not scolded, whipped, or subjected to any corporal punishment. Among all the tribes infanticide has been practised to some extent, but probably only females or children of widows and widowers have been treated in this way, the latter on account of the difficulties of providing for them. Among the Greenland Eskimo it is believed that the spirit of the murdered child is turned into an evil demon which avenges the crime."[1]

Young children amuse themselves with toy sledges, kayaks,[2] bows, arrows, and dolls, which are ingeniously made by dressing a wooden figure in deer skin clothes, cut in imitation of the garments of adult Eskimo men. Children amuse themselves by narrating fables and singing songs, of which the comic and satirical varieties with a personal bias are great favourites. A game resembling "skip rope" is played and mimetic dances imitative of animal movements are common.[3]

Of the Eskimo of Baffin Land, Bilby says that although men may sometimes illtreat wives if aggravated by shrewish tempers or bad household management, children never experience any but the kindest and most indulgent treatment. A boy who in a fit of temper stabbed his mother in the arm was merely scolded. The parents said, "He knew no better," it was their business to teach him self-control. "It has never been known that children are abused or neglected," and in this all travellers and observers agree.[4]

[1] F. Boas, "The Central Eskimo," Report of American Bureau of Ethnology, 1888, p. 612.

[2] Kayak, a long slender canoe with covered top. A small central aperture is provided for the occupant who propels the boat with a double paddle. The boat is made from skins tightly stretched over a whalebone framework.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 580.

[4] J. W. Bilby, "Among Unknown Eskimo," 1923, pp. 144, 158, 239.

Cradles Adapted to Climate.

Cradle of Fibre from the Banana Plant:
Hall Sound, New Guinea.

(Rev. H. M. Dauncey: "Papuan Pictures." London Missionary Society.)

A Young Eskimo Wife with Baby in Her Hood.

(Bilby: "Among Unknown Eskimo." Seeley, Service & Co., Ltd.)

Education is strictly utilitarian, requiring the girl to learn the duties of a woman, and a boy the duties of a man at a very early age. Marriages take place as soon as the youth can provide for a family and the girl can perform the domestic duties of hut-building, cooking, and sewing skins. A young husband is expected to reside with his wife's people, and great deference is shown to the father-in-law. "It is not until after his parents-in-law are dead that he is master of his own actions." [1]

Chukchee.—According to W. Bogoras, an authority on the Eskimo, Chukchee, and kindred peoples, the Asiatic Eskimo are exceptionally careful for the welfare of young children. "A child born immaturely is placed into the soft skin of a seabird which has been taken off as a whole and turned, feathers inward. The child is tied up securely and hung over a big lamp in which a small flame is kept constantly burning." The babe is kept in this position for a period which varies from one to four weeks, during which it is fed with small quantities of blubber oil added to milk drawn from the mother's breasts. The quantities of milk are increased gradually until the child is allowed to suckle. "If a woman dies in childbirth the infant is usually smothered and buried with the mother, but sometimes the people try to rear the child." [2]

Throughout the Peninsula of Kamchatka there is the belief that the conduct of the husband during his wife's pregnancy can materially influence the nature of delivery. Should confinement be long and painful, the midwives say that difficult labour has ensued because the father built sledges or bent wood during the birth. According to Krasheninnikoff, childbirth among the Kamchatdales took place in public, possibly in front of a whole village

[1] Boas's "The Central Eskimo," p. 579.

[2] "The Chukchee," p. 509. See Jesup Expedition to the North Pacific Report, 1907.

company, a custom which has not been paralleled in the various instances adduced. Abortion, carried out by old women specialists, is common, a sterilising potion is sometimes administered, and an unwelcome child may be strangled or thrown to the dogs.[1] The evil said to be attendant on a birth of twins may be averted by killing one of the children, or possibly by the less drastic method of making incantations. As a rule, the mother is fed with fish soup and vegetable stew, and after a few days she resumes work.

The Yukaghir and Yakut people have a very elaborate system of beliefs respecting the causes which may affect delivery. Abnormally difficult labour may result from the entry of an evil spirit into the woman, or the mother may have violated food taboos which should have been observed during pregnancy. Ill will on the part of the unborn child may render delivery dangerous, and as the children in the wombs of two pregnant women may conspire toward the death of one woman, expectant mothers are not allowed to inhabit the same hut. Ancestral spirits are thought to have the power of entering the fœtus, and normal delivery is said to be attainable by observance of taboos by the expectant mother, the husband, and the remainder of the household.

Certain fats, chiefly those of the reindeer, likewise larch gum are avoided, for it is believed that these substances fasten the child to the womb. Butter made from the milk of the cow, also fat from the horse, may be eaten with impunity because they melt quickly in the stomach and are easily digested. A pregnant woman is encouraged to be lively and energetic so that the child may acquire qualities which facilitate a rapid delivery.[2] When out for

[1] S. P. Krasheninnikoff, "Description of the Country of Kamchatka," 1819, pp. 171–2.

[2] M. A. Czaplicka, "Aboriginal Siberia," Oxford, 1914, p. 130.

a walk the expectant mother should raise her feet high, and on finding stones, lumps of earth, or other obstacles in the path, should kick them away, so symbolising removal of causes which render childbirth difficult. "After setting out for a certain place she must not turn back before the destination is reached, any retracing of footsteps is thought to check the delivery."

"The other members of the household must refrain from shouting or talking loudly in her presence, otherwise she will shout during childbirth. No one may cross her path or stop her in her walk, for this may cause delay in delivery. At the first attack of labour pains the wife, the husband, and the midwife must loosen all the fastenings of their garments so that the child may not be hampered in any way." These means of facilitating childbirth by sympathetic action are supplemented by vigorous pressing and massage of the abdomen, which often causes death of the mother. Purification of the mother by ablution and fumigation takes place on the fourth day after delivery, after which ceremony she may attend to domestic duties, but is considered too unclean to have intercourse with her husband, or to touch hunting or fishing implements for a period of forty days.[1]

Sterility is regarded as a punishment and a sign of disfavour on the part of dead relatives. A barren woman may ask the help of a Shaman, who descends to the world of the deceased, where he persuades the soul of a relative to enter the woman's body, but such a child very often dies.[2]

A census of 1897 showed the Chukchee, who inhabit the extreme north-east of Asia, to be the most prolific tribe of the region, and in many houses there were five, seven, or nine robust children surviving. Chukchee

[1] Czaplicka's "Aboriginal Siberia," p. 131.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 132.

women are said to have an easy delivery and are forbidden by custom to groan or show signs of distress, neither is any assistance allowed. The absence of primitive midwives is probably beneficial to the mother, for in most instances the methods adopted in order to expedite delivery are rough and inhumane. A general secrecy is maintained with regard to the expected infant, whose name is mentioned with caution, while the small garments are prepared clandestinely. During gestation, the husband and wife are expected to rise together, and proceed from the tent to regard the rising sun, a ritual which is followed by a perambulation in the direction of the sun's path.

Naming of the child is regarded as a most important event on account of the causal connection thought to exist between the child's prosperity and the name given. Sometimes a suitable name which will bring good health and fortune is indicated to the parents by means of a dream. Possibly the designation of an ancestor may be chosen, or the infant may receive a name descriptive of the first object which attracted the attention of the mother after delivery had been accomplished. If the child does not thrive the name may be changed at a special ceremony conducted by the Shaman, who is also responsible for pronouncing incantations of a protective nature during the early years of childhood, when the infant is further defended from evil by the attachment of pictures of a guardian to the clothing, or special amuletic decorations to the neck. In families where the death of a child has occurred such precautions are thought to be absolutely imperative on account of the departed child having left footprints in which the enemy may follow.[1]

Use of the term "little eggs" indicates that Chukchee children are regarded by their parents with love and tenderness. Children grow up free and fearless in the joy of

[1] Czaplicka's "Aboriginal Siberia," p. 135.

camp life, being fed with the best morsels and caressed by all. Small boys receive knives as soon as they are able to grasp the handles, and from that time onward learn the use of this very important implement. Reindeer breeding Chukchee send boys of ten, and girls of the same age, to share the dangers and hardships of herding restive reindeer, so from early life education is severely practical. Among maritime Chukchee, boys take up their duties later in life, for their unskilled presence in boats would endanger all lives.

"A married couple who have no children may adopt some little child, most frequently a boy, the son of some related family, perhaps a brother or a cousin, but the child may belong to an unrelated friend." Such a child becomes principal heir and evidently the adoption ceremony is important, for a reindeer is sacrificed to morning dawn, and the child and his foster parents are anointed with sacrificial blood. The adoption tie may, however, be broken and the child voluntarily or involuntarily returned.[1]

Jochelson states that among the Koryak the mortality of infants during the first year is enormous. The people themselves recognise this, but are satisfied with the explanation that the souls of children are timid, consequently they suffer from the attacks of evil spirits, against whom they can be protected only by placing them under the tutelage of some good guardian spirit of the family. The Koryak believe that the soul of some dead ancestor is sent by the supreme being to occupy the body of the unborn child. These souls are said to be kept in the spirit world in a state of prehension from beams in the home of the divinity, and the duration of a life on earth is thought to depend on the length of the strap which fastened the now reincarnated soul when it was stored in the spirit world.

[1] "Memoirs of American Museum of Natural History" (*Journal North Pacific Expedition*), 1904–9, vol. vii, p. 552.

Divination in order to discover the name of the ancestral spirit which has entered the child is practised by the father, who suspends a stone named "little grandmother" from a small tripod. The father names deceased relatives on both sides of the family, and when the prehensile stone swings rapidly the father knows that he is mentioning the name of the ancestor who has been reincarnated. This name is repeated to the infant, who signifies correctness of choice by smiling or ceasing to weep. The ceremony is concluded by the father taking the child in his arms, carrying him from the sleeping tent into the house, and saying, "A relative has come." [1]

Seclusion of the mother in an isolated hut just before delivery is the rule among the Gilyak, who allow parturition to take place under severe and uncomfortable conditions. "To help the woman in labour, people carve a wooden figure in the act of delivery, and to it they sacrifice different foods, trying by these means to placate evil influences which are at work." [2] Access to the hut is given to midwives only, for there is the usual belief that the presence of strangers may adversely affect an infant whose young soul is thought to be particularly susceptible to "the evil eye." The Gilyak name an infant either on the evening of the birthday or the morning following the day of birth; the name is announced by the father, as a rule without ceremony, though wealthy people may hold a feast to which they invite friends.[3]

The Buryats protect child life by allowing the infant to be "stolen" by relatives who secrete and nourish the child for three days. An image of grass is made by the relations and thrown into the tent of the parents, who

[1] W. I. Jochelson, "The Koryak," Jesup Expedition to North Pacific, 1908, p. 415.

[2] L. Schrenck, "The Natives of the Amur Country," 1903, vol. iii, pp. 11, 138.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

lament and bury the effigy with much ceremonial. "This is to persuade the evil spirit who wished to have the child that the latter is dead and buried." [1] The Altains protect a boy from evil spirits by placing an arrow and the branch of a thorny plant over the cradle.[2] A general neglect of the pregnant mother is said to be due to the belief that the goddess of childbirth is fully capable of caring for parturient women.[3]

In spite of much apparent neglect especially of the expectant and delivered mother: "Children are an absorbing interest with tundra people, and they come before all other considerations. Children are attended to first at meals, their clamour for tit-bits goes unrebuked and they rule the roost in the home." [4] As a rule, children are not weaned until long after their diet has become the same as that of adults. Illegitimate children are "objects of great solicitude, for the child has only its mother." Generally speaking, children are lively and intelligent, much more vivacious than their parents, who are somewhat lugubrious of countenance. Young children are allowed to play with edged tools and firebrands, for the parents are of the opinon that everything is learned by experience, and affection does not appear to engender any excess of anxiety for the welfare of offspring. Education is apparently a discipline of natural consequences, combined with empirical knowledge, and a little instruction of a strictly utilitarian nature. "A child of five years knows how a reindeer is harnessed, and at six years of age the child himself can harness the team." Apparently there are "no houses without children,

[1] Czaplicka's "Aboriginal Siberia," p. 140. Compare Milne's "Shans at Home," p. 37.

[2] Czaplicka's "Aboriginal Siberia," p. 141. Compare Seligman's "The Veddas," p. 137.

[3] J. Maak, "The Vibiysk District of the Yakutsk Territory," 1887, vol. iii, p. 90.

[4] M. A. Czaplicka, "My Siberian Year," London, p. 87.

for if the occupants have none of their own they make up the deficiency by adopting part or the whole of somebody else's surplus." [1]

North America.—A detailed consideration of the birth customs of tribes scattered over a large area naturally shows diversity of detail, but as a rule there is among the Indian tribes of British North America a common practice of erecting a special lying-in lodge to which an expectant mother may retire with several old women. After the child has been washed it is wrapped in the inner bark of cedar, which has been beaten until it becomes soft and pliable. The infant is then placed in a bark cradle, which can be strapped to the mother's back, and in this receptacle the child spends the first year of life; in fact, the infant is suckled and amused in the cradle, removal being thought necessary only once or twice in twenty-four hours.

Cranial deformation is practised by the application of compressing bands and pads of cedar bark, which are kept on the child's head for the greater part of the first year of infancy. This changing of the natural contour of the head is done in order that the child may conform to prevailing standards of beauty, and at the same time the practice serves as a mark of distinction which denotes social status. Among the Salish Indians, slaves are not allowed to deform the heads of their children, and, *per contra*, the heads of the nobility are severely and excessively deformed.[2] "It might be thought that such severe distortion of the brain-case would injuriously affect the brain itself, but such does not seem to have been the case. Some of the most noted men of this region were chiefs whose heads were excessively deformed. A chief of the Chinook Indians, who lived at the mouth of the Columbia River,

[1] Czaplicka's "My Siberian Year," p. 89.

[2] C. Hill-Tout, "The Natives of British North America," London, 1907, pp. 38–40.

was one of the most astute traders, although his head was excessively deformed." [1]

Death of a mother during delivery usually involves infanticide, and this general rule in primitive society is followed by the Chilcotin Indians, who emphasise the difficulty of feeding and carrying a motherless infant. Hence the child is buried in its cradle with the mother. If the child is spared, a second use of the cradle is considered very unlucky, therefore when the cradle stage has been passed the cot itself, likewise clothes worn during the first year, are abandoned on the branches of a forest tree.[2]

The ear-piercing ceremony is considered somewhat important, and for primitive races generally this event has a significance, inasmuch as it marks the advance of the child toward puberty. Among many tribes of British North America the Shaman uses a pointed bone for boring the ear lobes, and the holes are stopped with splinters of pitch pine. These are manipulated daily until the holes are large enough to receive ear-rings, which are introduced during feasting and general rejoicing.[3] In some tribes a boy does not receive a name until he is in the teens, but in other tribes an ancestral name is given when the infant is in the second or third year.[4] Up to the age of puberty boys and girls play together and enjoy the same amusements, though the former specialise in the use of mimic weapons, while the latter concentrate on nursing dolls. Housekeeping, hunting, and fighting are favourite occupations, in which children closely imitate the actions of their elders. Cat's cradle, also a game resembling " battledore and shuttlecock," are very popular.[5]

[1] Hill-Tout's " The Natives of British North America," p. 41. Compare Hose and McDougall's " Pagan Tribes of Borneo," London, 1912, Bk. I, pp. 48–9, and Crooke's " Things Indian," p. 100.

[2] Hill-Tout's " The Natives of British North America," p. 205.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 245. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 245. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 246.

There is some evidence to show that children of the Blackfeet Indians keep pets, chiefly birds and wild animals. McClintock states that in former days they kept in their tents tame cranes, hawks, eagles, beavers, wolves, antelopes, and even grizzly bears, so showing a fondness for animal life, which is not usually associated with the stoical and unemotional disposition of the Indian. McClintock, who spent a considerable time in intimate relationship with the Blackfeet, remarks on the affection of a little Indian girl for a tame coyote puppy named "Freckle Face" (Sa-sak-si) which had been trained to laugh by lifting his top lip, likewise to go to the door, on a word of command, in order to defend the entrance.[1]

The traveller, George Catlin, an authority who lived with many North American Indian tribes about 1830, speaks at some length on the subjects of filial affection and cranial deformation, points which have already engaged our attention. "It would be untrue, and doing an injustice to the Indians, to say that they were in the least behind us in conjugal, filial, and paternal affection."[2] If the infant dies during the time that it is allotted to be carried in the cradle it is buried and the disconsolate mother fills the cradle with black quills and feathers in the parts which the child's body has occupied. This bundle is carried for a year by the mother, who exercises as much care as if the infant was alive in the wrappings. She often stands it against the side of the wigwam, then during the day, while engaged with needlework, she talks to the dummy as affectionately and familiarly as if in conversation with her living infant. So lasting and strong is the affection of these women for the lost child that it matters not how heavy or cruel their load, or how rugged

[1] W. McClintock, "The Old North Trail," London, 1910, p. 245. Compare N. W. Thomas, "Native Races of Australia," London, 1906, pp. 128–9.

[2] George Catlin, "North American Indians," London, 1841, vol. i, p. 121.

Brazilian Woman carrying Child.

(Reproduced from " Wonders of the Amazon," by permission of the Gaumont Co., Ltd.)

Kamayura Women.

(C. Von den Steinen : " Unter den Natur Völkern Zentral Brasiliens," 1894. Berlin.)

the route they have to pass over, they will faithfully carry this, and even more strictly perform their duties to it than if the child were alive.[1]

When speaking of cranial deformation as practised by the Choctaws and Chicksaws of Mississippi and Alabama, likewise by the Chinooks of lower Columbia, Catlin says that the infant is placed on a plank, to which it is strapped with leather thongs. A pillow of moss or rabbit skin is provided and pressure, which is daily increased, is applied to the forehead by means of a broad thong. "This process is seemingly a very cruel one, though I doubt whether it causes much pain, as it is done in earliest infancy whilst the bones are cartilaginous. The brain is not diminished or injured and can perform its usual functions." Infants are generally carried in these special cradles for three, five, or eight weeks, until the bones have been so compressed that they will not reassume their natural form.[2]

Pawnee Indians used to observe a ceremony which illustrated a concern for the moral and spiritual welfare of child life. The dedication of a young child to a particular deity, in this instance to Tira-wa-atius, giver of all life and ruler of all things, who dwells in the sky, must be regarded as a religious ceremony, and the forms of the markings, also the nature and colour of the pigments used, provide striking examples of the importance attached to the symbolism of body-marking.

The child is first anointed with red clay mixed with fat from the buffalo or deer, whose parts have been set aside as sacred at the time when the animal was slain. Such anointing applies, not only to child consecration, but also to the ceremonial preparation of an adult Pawnee who wishes to participate in a religious function. The

[1] Catlin's "North American Indians," vol. ii, p. 133.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 110–11.

ceremony performed for the consecration of an infant to the sky god may be divided into three main parts, first of which is the touching of a child's forehead with holy water, supposed to have been supplied by the deity to whom consecration is made. Water is recognised as the chief means of sustaining life and the gift is held to come directly from "Tira" who has blessed the liquid with cleansing and health-giving power.

A new life is now opening up for the child on this occasion of his spiritual rebirth, and as the reddening clouds of the morning give promise of a new day, so the red paint symbolises the advent of a new and fuller life for the one who is consecrated to Tira-wa-atius. The Shaman, or medicine man, carrying a shell containing the red pigment, approaches the infant to the accompaniment of music and song, which speak of the life-giving power of the rising sun. Here and there the infant's face is touched with the red paint, and the spots are one by one smeared over so that the entire face is covered, and during this part of the ritual the song describes the gradual rise of the sun in the heavens. Marking with the blue pigment, which symbolises the blue vault of heaven where the sky god dwells, is carried out with much the same ceremonial approach of the medicine man, who carries the pigment in a shell, while various stanzas are sung from time to time.

The mark made on the forehead with holy water is a symbol of the sky god, whose usual sign is a semicircle, representing the arch of the sky above, and from the zenith a perpendicular line is drawn. Over this symbol the red paint is applied with a brush of grass which symbolises food, finally a blue line is drawn down the centre of the nose, over the neck and chest, to the heart. So the goodness from the sky god enters the forehead and flows downward until the whole being is permeated.[1]

[1] "American Bureau of Ethnology," 1900–1, 22nd Report, pp. 222–33. Compare dedication of Maori child by sprinkling and reciting "Welcome,

INDIAN BOY WITH COATI AND PARAKEET.

TUPI GIRL WITH YOUNG OSTRICH.

NHAMBIQUARA CHILD WITH PET MONKEY.

Pets are popular with children, but the treatment of animals requires careful supervision.
(From Roosevelt's "Through the Brazilian Wilderness." C. Scribner's Sons.)

South America.—The strange custom of the couvade is once again illustrated by the practices of the Indians of Guiana, who require the husband of an expectant woman to observe food taboos before delivery, also to retire to his hammock as soon as the child is born. This rite observed by the father may continue for weeks; in all cases several days are spent in the hammock, and during this time only light nourishment is given. Use of weapons must be avoided, no sharp instrument may be touched, and for a considerable period the father is nursed as an invalid. "It appears to be based on a belief in the existence of a mysterious connection between the child and its father, a unison far closer than that which exists between the child and the mother. If the father eats of the flesh of a large water rat the teeth of the child will grow like those of the animal. Apparently there is also some idea that for the father to eat strong food, to wash, to smoke, or to handle weapons would have the same result as if the new-born baby performed these actions." [1]

From another authority on the customs of Amazonian Indians one may note that: "Food taboos imposed upon the parents before and after birth affect the child to maturity, moreover these restrictions are more rigidly enforced on girls than boys." The treatment of the newly-born infant appears to be rigorous, and "the high percentage of infant mortality is due in part to the test for survival of the fittest which is practised at birth." The child is immediately submerged in a stream, a custom which naturally leads to infanticide, though fœticide and abortion are known only to the medicine men. Sickly or deformed

oh Son! Be eminent in noble knowledge, excel thyself in useful arts, thus shall all wisdom be permanently acquired," *J.A.I.*, 1914, p. 127. Elsdon Best, "Ceremonial Performances pertaining to Birth as performed by the Maoris in Past Times."

[1] Sir E. im Thurn, "Among the Indians of Guiana," London, 1883, pp. 217–18. Compare T. Whiffen, "The North-west Amazons," London, 1915, pp. 146–51; and W. C. Farabee, "The Central Arawaks," Philadelphia, 1918, p. 97.

children are not reared, for should the infant's deformity pass unnoticed at the immersion ceremony, the child would, at a later date, be abandoned in the forest.[1]

Considerable affection exists between parents and children: "While the child is young a great deal of affection is bestowed upon it by both father and mother. The latter almost always, even when working, carries it against her hip, slung in a small hammock from her neck or shoulder. The young children seem fully to reciprocate the affection of their parents, but as they grow older, the affection on both sides seems to cool, though in reality it perhaps only becomes less demonstrative. Only once have I seen grown up Indians mingle in the games of their children. Indians rarely, if ever, ill-treat their children, of whatever age they may be." [2]

Children are primarily under the authority and protection of the father, but the authority of the parents is very slight where boys are concerned once puberty is reached. The virginity of girls is protected as far as possible. No chastisement is given to children; they are never beaten and rarely punished in any way.[3]

Naming takes place soon after birth, according to Whiffen at the end of the eighth day, though, no doubt, local custom varies considerably in detail. The ceremony is under the direction of the medicine man and the parents, who usually choose for a boy the name of some animal, and for a girl the name of a tree or flower. Beliefs respecting names are similar to many already noted in various widely-separated regions. Indians of Guiana share the idea that a name is an integral part of an individual. He who knows the name has a means of getting the individual in his power, hence proper names of people are rarely used.[4]

[1] Whiffen's "The North-west Amazons, p. 155.
[2] im Thurn's "Among the Indians of Guiana," p. 219.
[3] Whiffen's "The North-West Amazons," p. 155.
[4] im Thurn's "Among the Indians of Guiana," p. 220, and Whiffen's "The North-west Amazons," p. 151.

First Lessons in Pottery-making (West Africa).
(*Photo : N. W. Thomas.*)

Play is a preparation for the business of life, hence we find the young Amazonians keeping house, making pottery, constructing small weapons, engaging in mimic warfare, and, by a no means unhappy childhood, preparing for the more serious business of adult existence.

Section IV.—Maternity and Infancy among African Tribes

Throughout the vast area of the African Continent there are beliefs and practices which illustrate the attitude of primitive man toward the physiological disturbance of parturition. The field of research is so extensive that a few examples from various parts must suffice to illustrate the treatment of the mother and the rearing of offspring.

Yao women of the Upper Shire retire to the bush a few days before delivery is expected in order to erect grass huts, which are isolated from the general community. Each pregnant woman is accompanied by one or two midwives, who assist in constructing the hut, where they remain with the expectant mother until both mother and child can be brought to the village amid general rejoicing. The returning party is met by the child's maternal grandmother, who welcomes them with a song commencing with the words: "I have got a grandchild, let me rejoice." A probationary period of three to six days is spent by mother and infant in a small, secluded structure. If the child dies within this period no mourning ceremonies are held, for the infant is regarded as having no separate existence until a name has been given and the ceremony of introduction to the general community has been performed.

The name chosen at the end of the probationary period usually bears reference to the particular circumstances of birth; for example, an infant born on the day which marked the completion of a canoe made by the father would be named *Ngalawa*, and it is of interest to note that

there is no difference of gender between the names of boys and girls.[1]

The infant is carefully washed, oiled, decorated with a necklace of beads, and protected by charms from sickness or accident. Parents are not emotional and expressive; nevertheless the affection for offspring is present, though it may be manifest in a general apathy and smiling indulgence toward all juvenile actions.

Widespread observance of restrictions affecting food and conduct is a characteristic of maternity among Kaffir tribes. The process of childbirth is thought to be a favourable opportunity for the exercise of black magic by ill-disposed witches, whose spells are negatived if the mother ties small, yellow flowers to her ankles. Dudley Kidd notes the practice of "imparting the ancestral spirit to the child"; as a rule, primitive people who adopt a theory of reincarnation believe that the spirit enters the child during fœtal life.[2]

Women of the Baganda nation show a keen desire for children, and it is somewhat remarkable that twins are regarded as a sign of favour from God, a happy view of duple birth which contrasts sharply with the Ba Thonga beliefs, but is in agreement with views in Sierra Leone, where birth of twins is a joyful event.[3] The desire of the Baganda women for children results from loss of prestige and decline of social position which accompany barrenness. A childless wife soon becomes the drudge of the house and favour with the husband is lost. Consequently, sterile women seek the aid of the local medicine man, who offers a goat in sacrifice; afterwards he gives amulets and

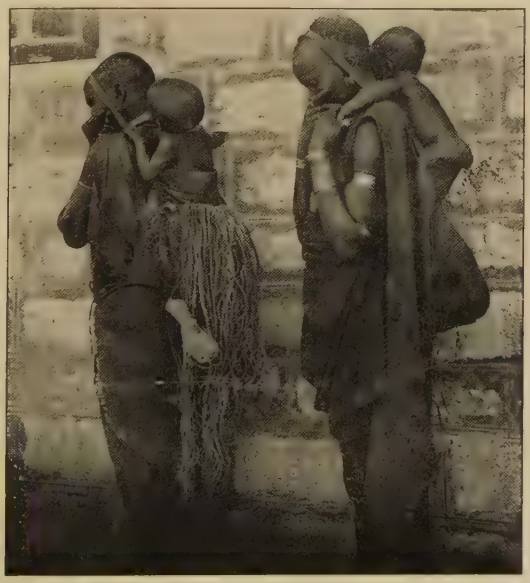
[1] A. Werner, "The Natives of British Central Africa," pp. 102–4.

[2] Dudley Kidd, "Savage Childhood," London, 1906, p. 12. Crooke's "Things Indian," p. 344. W. Jochelson's "The Koryak," p. 415.

[3] Rev. J. Roscoe, "The Baganda," London, 1911, p. 64. H. A. Junod, "The Life of a South African Tribe," vol. ii, p. 394, Neuchâtel, 1913. N. W. Thomas, "Anthropological Report on Sierra Leone," 1916, Part i, p. 111.

NANDI WOMAN AND BABY.

Most primitive mothers suckle children up to the age of four years.
(Sir J. Bland-Sutton : " Man and Beast in Eastern Ethiopia."



A-KAMBA WOMEN (EAST AFRICA) CARRYING CHILDREN.

(C. W. Hobley : " Ethnology of the A-Kamba." Cambridge University Press.)

potions which are accredited with the power of aiding conception. During several weeks preceding birth the Baganda woman is smeared with butter each day in order to make the joints supple, while among relatives there is ceremonial painting, dancing and washing in order to ensure the birth of a healthy child. An Akikuyu girl baby is extremely welcome, more so, in fact, than a boy, because the girl's work in the home is regarded as valuable, and the parents who have an eye to the future visualise the thirty goats which will ultimately be received as a wedding gift from their son-in-law.[1] The Baganda custom of presenting an infant to the first new moon after the birth is of interest. The idea underlying this procedure is connected with the health and good fortune of the child, who is believed to be magically protected by presentation.[2] In speaking of this ceremony in deference to the moon, H. Junod refers to the Ba Thonga belief that the child will grow up stupid and unintelligent if the rite is not observed. "When a child is not intelligent it is usual to say to him, 'You have not been shown to the moon.'" On the eve of new moon the mother, carrying a firebrand, leaves the hut followed by the maternal grandmother, who is carrying the infant. When the mother throws the brand toward the moon, the grandmother tosses the infant into the air meanwhile calling out, "This is your moon." The child is then rolled in the ashes of a fire lighted for the occasion, after which the babe is carried home by the mother. Prior to this ceremony the father was not allowed to nurse the infant, neither was it considered fortunate to sing to the child; these restrictions are now removed by virtue of presentation to the moon.[3]

[1] Roscoe's "The Baganda," p. 58.

[2] W. S. and K. Routledge, "With a Prehistoric People" (The Akikuyu), London, 1910, p. 123.

[3] Junod's "Life of a South African Tribe," vol. i, p. 51. Compare with dedication to the sun, "American Bureau of Ethnology," 1900–1, 22nd Report, pp. 222, 233, and Maori's dedication to sacred deity, Elsdon Best, *J.A.I.*, 1914, p. 127, also Rivers's "The Todas," p. 331.

During delivery, Ba Thonga women receive very rough treatment at the hands of unqualified midwives, who regard difficult birth as a sign of illegitimacy of the child whose father is sought by means of divination. Twins and triplets are regarded with the greatest aversion at the present day, and elaborate rites of purification have to be performed. In former times, the feebler of twins was put to death by starvation or strangulation. So great is the defilement occasioned by birth of twins that it may be removed only by a specially qualified medicine man, whose prestige is next below that of the practitioner professing to cure leprosy. Singers, while intoning a monotonous chant commencing: "Misfortune of twin birth which is a death," splash water over the mother, who takes residence with her twin babies in an isolation hut, after her own dwelling and possessions have been consumed by fire. Purification is completed by a magician, who administers a drug to the infants. "Women fear that if they touch anything belonging to the mother of twins they will give birth to twins, hence the mother has her own axe, mortar, pestle, and cooking utensils. No visitor is allowed in the isolation hut and friends may speak only from a distance." [1] Cleansing from defilement of twin birth is a complex process involving the deception of four men, each of whom will be killed by contagion. A vapour bath is obligatory, and after the woman has visited the house of her parents, and there given birth to a child whose father is her illicit lover, normal family life recommences. As a rule, the Ba Thonga wean a child as soon as the infant is able to walk and understands how to bring a stick of tobacco; twins, however, are weaned much earlier and fed on goats' milk. Twins are regarded as bad characters; aspersions are made when they crawl toward a dwelling, and if an ordinary child has a bad disposition he is reproached

[1] Junod's "Life of a South African Tribe," vol. ii, p. 395.

with the words, "You are naughty, you are just like a twin." [1]

By paradox twins are named "Children of Heaven" and, although execrated by everyone, there is an appeal to the infants during a violent thunderstorm. People say, "Help us! you are a child of heaven, you can therefore cope with heaven, it will hear you when you speak." Mention of the Bagandas' appreciation of twins has already been made, and for the Herero of the western side of South Africa one may say that every mark of affection and appreciation is shown to twins. Among the Ba Thonga beliefs respecting twins vary greatly. "In one tribe they are put to death, in another the advent is considered of great happiness." [2]

The Ekoi of Southern Nigeria entertain some interesting and picturesque beliefs respecting the origin of children. Infants are said to "Love sweet words, kind looks, and gentle voices, and if these are not found in the family into which they have been reincarnated, they will close their eyes and forsake the earth until there is a chance to return to more harmonious surroundings." [3] Twins are welcomed by dance and song, and if such signs of appreciation are lacking the infants are said to return whence they came. One legend states that the home of the unborn is in the "Water Kingdom," another story places the origin of life in the "realm of the dead." A barren woman thinks herself cursed by a witch; she has little influence among her fellows, and will spend all she has in the purchase of medicines or offerings, for payment of which her husband helps to the utmost of his power.[4]

[1] Junod's "Life of a South African Tribe," vol. i, p. 56, and vol. ii, p. 397.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 394, 399–400. Although the Baganda appreciate twins a special purification of the parents is necessary, Roscoe's "The Baganda," p. 64.

[3] P. Amaury Talbot, "In the Shadow of the Bush," London, 1912, p. 120.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 120.

Detection of pregnancy is marked by the observance of certain food taboos which impose restrictions on both parents in order to ward off misfortunes. Sacrifices are made to the household "ju-ju," elephants' flesh, porcupine, and pumpkin leaves are to be avoided, while the mother must take particular care to eschew the tree "Nyo-Uru," the shadow of which will cause death to the child. Over the door of the room occupied by the expectant mother knotted palm leaves are suspended, and within is a little shrine on which a lighted lamp is kept burning by night, possibly to keep away evil spirits. "Corn, meat and oil are regarded as fecundating substances, and on this account are offered to the guardian spirit. Iron is said to have the peculiar potence of protecting mother and fœtus against witchcraft.[1]

Ekoi beliefs respecting the name of a child emphasise the general ideas of primitive races with regard to a close connection between a name and good fortune. Should the Ekoi infant enjoy a year of robust health after the naming ceremony has been performed immediately following birth, the name is retained for life. If, on the contrary, the first year of infantile life is marked by sickness and misfortune, steps are taken to secure a more propitious name for the child. According to directions from the village diviner, the parents prepare a sacrifice of meat, plantains, and coco yams—which are brought to a general assembly of the villagers. The head of the house recites names of deceased relatives on the sides of both parents and to these the diviner answers "No" until the name of the reincarnated ancestor is mentioned, at which point he gives assent. Sickness of the child is attributed to bestowal of a name which does not correctly designate the ancestor whose spirit has taken possession of the infant's body.[2]

[1] Talbot's "In the Shadow of the Bush," p. 123.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 131. Compare divination by the Koryak, I. W. Jochelson, Jesup Expedition to North Pacific, p. 415.

Zulu Boy setting Bird Trap.
(Dudley Kidd : " Savage Childhood." A. & C. Black.)

West African Children learning to Dance.
(*Photo : N. W. Thomas.*)

Change of name is not the only method whereby health may be secured for the infant. When the child is two or three months old the wrist is slightly cut and magical medicines are rubbed in. In order to give strength, an ointment made from the forefinger of the chimpanzee is worked into the abrasion, and to produce quickness and activity a lotion is prepared from crushed black ants.[1]

Evidence regarding the occupations of juveniles is congruous in pointing out the manner in which children make their play an imitation of the serious business of elders. Among the Wakikuyu, senior children like to act as nurserymaids, endeavouring to carry infants and acting towards these in maternal fashion. According to the statements of Routledge, children of the Wakikuyu tribe of East Africa are singularly quiet and well-behaved. They are never seen playing games and appear to need no occupation. "I have counted as many as twenty-two children together, each under the age of fourteen years, all sitting quietly, none of them engaged in any way with the exception of some of the little girls who were making bags. This quiet apathy of childhood is in contrast with the energy displayed in dances in later life."[2] Masai children of Kenya Colony amuse themselves by collecting pebbles and berries. They play at herding cattle and sheep in imitation of the pastoral pursuits of adults. Small huts are constructed, spears are made from stalks of bulrushes, and little girls are fond of nursing dolls which they make from the elongated fruits of a tree.[3] The Ba Thonga child "grows at nature's good pleasure"; the father's disciplinary influence is negligible to a degree which might well be envied by European boys. H. Junod says: "The father does not bother much with these little boys and they enjoy an immense amount of liberty."

[1] Talbot's "In the Shadow of the Bush," p. 131.
[2] Routledge's "With a Prehistoric People" (The Akikuyu), p. 124.
[3] A. C. Hollis, "The Masai," Oxford, 1905, p. 321.

Juvenile occupations include the herding of goats and stealing from a neighbour's garden; for any neglect of the former charge a thrashing is imminent; complaints from aggrieved neighbours appear to be peculiarly potent in arousing the apathetic father when there are questions of indemnity involved.

Werner's evidence respecting games played throughout wide areas of Central Africa reveals a curious similarity between native African games and European pastimes, though the extent to which the former have been influenced by the latter is difficult to estimate. "Whipping" tops are kept in motion by lashing; the whip consists of three strands of bark tied to a piece of stick. A peg top is used for knocking pieces of corn cob out of a ring, or the game may be played by opposing parties, who sit in two rows with a piece of hard ground between them. The tops are spun across this space by twisting between the thumb and fingers, the object being to knock over the opponents' corn cobs as quickly as possible. "Chiwewe" is the name given to a game played with a short rope weighted at one end. This rope is whirled round a player's head so that it describes a circle of two or three yards in diameter. Other players try to jump over the rope when the circle is described near the ground and one who fails has to whirl the rope for the other players. "Children build little houses of grass stalks, and otherwise imitate the proceedings of grown-up people." Boys make little bows and arrows; the latter are tipped with sharp bits of bamboo, so making the instrument sufficiently strong for killing birds. Young girls grind corn, and bestow a good deal of affection on corn cobs, which they dress up and carry on their backs just as the adult woman carries a baby. There are guessing games, string games resembling cat's cradle, which in some form or other appears to be of world-wide distribution, also a ball game resembling "rounders."

YOUTHFUL KAFIR NURSES.

(Dudley Kidd : "Savage Childhood." A. & C. Black.)

Beautiful Zulu Baby in Pensive Mood.

(Dudley Kidd : " Savage Childhood." A. & C. Black.)

Clay modelling on the banks of a stream is a favourite pastime, but as a rule the children do not burn the figures they construct. Among children's toys which I brought from a Sudanese district some two hundred miles to the south of Khartoum there are numerous baked clay figures representing animals such as the donkey, camel, dog, and cow with which children were familiar. Clay modelling and baking were favourite pastimes when women were making pots, and it may be said that the figures produced are creditably realistic. Sudanese children, like juveniles in our kindergarten classes, emphasise some prominent feature of the animal which is modelled. The cow has extremely long horns, and the donkey displays abnormally long ears.

At a very early age the realities of life begin, young girls have babies tied to their backs as soon as they are big enough to carry them, and about the same time these young nursemaids carry water, pound corn, and hoe gardens. On the whole, boys have an easier time than girls, though some work is expected, generally in the form of herding goats, a task which does not impose much physical labour. Neither does the task occupy the full time of a boy, who has leisure for killing birds, digging out field mice, making flutes from hollow reeds, or perhaps fighting with aid of fist, stock, tooth, and nail. "On the whole they are not particularly combative unless under exceptional provocation and their affectionate comradeship is a very pleasing trait." [1] Boys assume a manly dignity at an early age, and on the approach of puberty gather in a communal hut, where they spend convivial evenings. When admitted to the tribe, boys make use of bachelors' huts until they are able to marry and commence domestic responsibility.[2]

[1] Werner's "The Natives of British Central Africa," p. 122.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

In spite of racial differences, varied tribal organisation, diversity of religious beliefs, and wide geographical distribution, there appear to exist certain general trends of thought which govern the actions of all primitive people when dealing with the problem of maternity and infant welfare. The following summary has as its objective the comparison of evidence, and an induction of general conclusions respecting the methods which primitive man has adopted in order to deal with what he rightly considers to be a complex psychological and social problem.

Section V.—Summary and Conclusions Respecting Maternity and Child Welfare

(Numbers in the text relate to the numbered references at the end of this Chapter, pp. 123–7).

A general survey of the evidence adduced with regard to the beliefs of primitive races concerning procreation of children, might conveniently be classified into a series of ideas and actions resulting from: (A) A study of childbirth as a physiological phenomenon, and (B) The reproduction of species regarded as a psychic and metaphysical conundrum, which has caused primitive man considerable alarm and speculation.

When modern biological science has done its utmost in research and lucid explanation, there remains the entrancing problem of the origin of life. Embryology may explain the course of development during fœtal existence, and the eugenist may throw light upon the problem of heredity, but modern man, like his primitive brother, is baffled by the mystery of protoplasm, which eludes the most refined synthetic chemical research.

An extensive study of primitive beliefs respecting conception appears to show that the majority of tribes have

not, until recent years, associated pregnancy with a sexual act.* Visiting the graves of children, resting under certain trees, or partaking of particular fruits are, or have been regarded as, adequate causes of human fertility.

In the absence of all systems of natural science primitive man has adopted theories which are a logical part of his general views regarding death, spirit life, and rebirth, but at the outset one should clearly recognise the secondary importance of the physiological and medical aspects of parturition as dealt with by savage races. Among people of elementary culture the astonishing phenomenon of childbirth is replete with possibilities for misfortune to enter the social group. Pregnancy and delivery are biological mysteries, and the evidence respecting reproduction clearly shows that the purely physical aspect of maternity is completely over-shadowed by the spiritual problems suggesting themselves in connection with conception, gestation, and labour.

The physiological and medical aspects of the problem are the simpler, and with regard to these, anthropological evidence speaks without ambiguity of treatment which is considered suitable for the expectant mother during pregnancy, labour, and lactation. There is likewise a standard treatment for infants, which may be considered in conjunction with regulated procedure applied to the mother. More abstruse problems of non-human powers connected with childbirth may conveniently be separated from purely physiological considerations, though the former to a certain extent have a biological origin.

Without doubt women of primitive races have good reason for desiring to bear children, for a barren woman suffers loss of affection and prestige. A childless wife is despised by her husband, ridiculed by other women of the household, and regarded as a social nonentity, hence in

* E. S. Hartland, "Primitive Paternity," London, 1910.

addition to the usual operation of maternal instinct there are powerful motives which check a tendency to abortion. The barren wife resorts to charms, amulets, divination, sacrifice, and incantation. Her appeal is made to the local medicine man, and payment for occult aid is willingly made. The father too has strong reasons for desiring progeny; boys are a social asset, girls have a pronounced domestic and marriageable value, hence the desires of the parents are calculated to secure issue.[1] There is, however, a distinction to be drawn between the desires of the husband and those of the wife, and in all probability the ambition of the latter is satisfied when she has secured favour by presenting her husband with a son. Lactation is for a lengthy period, usually not less than two years, during which time the wife does not cohabit with her husband. During the first year of infancy the mother has the burden of the child in addition to her heavy load of firewood, water, or mealies. The infant must be carried to the field, and although the philosophical calm of small children of primitive races is helpful to the mother, the work involved in rearing offspring is considerable and temptations to abortion are very potent.[2] There is apparently no moral condemnation of the practice, and in all probability the chief restraint is a fear that the husband will disapprove of an interference with the fœtus. When conception takes place during the long period of lactation, during which the woman is deprived of connubial rights, there is, of course, good reason for an attempt to secure abortion in order that an illegitimate child may not be born.

Have we any evidence of the special care and protection of expectant mothers? Prohibitions there are in abundance. The foregoing sections contain numerous examples of restrictions respecting diet, actions, and sights, all of which appear to be directed toward securing healthy offspring, free from blemish, and normally presented during

delivery. Special care of the mother during pregnancy appears to be a neglected factor, the daily toil continues until labour pains compel retirement to the isolated hut of parturition.[3]

Is this isolation of the mother during delivery, and for varying periods afterwards, made with a view to preserve decency, or for the purpose of giving a short rest and quiescence? The period of convalescence appears to vary with social status, but a quick return to the routine of agricultural and domestic life is the general rule. Early resumption of toil is not so brutal as might be supposed, for from childhood women are enduring hardships which, combined with racial qualities, make delivery more bearable. The weight of evidence negatives any idea that isolation shortly prior to labour has any clinical import.[4] For primitive man, any critical physiological process, be it birth, menstruation, puberty, insanity, disease, or death, has a significance far beyond the biological considerations which are involved. At all times of corporal disturbance, the crisis is thought to be attended by ill-defined evils which may cause distress, and isolation of the people affected is universally regarded as a safeguard. Demons have to be placated or frightened, hence isolation, burning of fires, chant, and incantation, followed by elaborate purification ceremonies. The parturient woman is usually accompanied by midwives, among whom the maternal grandmother is conspicuous; but of the science of obstetrics there does not appear to be any evidence. A certain amount of rough assistance is given, but an abnormal presentation, or delayed delivery, is met in the manner common to primitive medicine and surgery, namely, by sympathetic magical process, possibly in the form of opening the lids of all boxes, untying knots from pieces of cord, sending for the husband and requiring him to undo all tight clothing from the loins, likewise to discard compressing armlets

and anklets. The needs of the mother appear to be unimportant compared with the necessity of making a ceremonial disposal of the umbilical cord and afterbirth.[5]

There appears to be cogent reason for believing that from the time that pregnancy is detected the welfare of the fœtus, and later the care of the child, are primary considerations which far outweigh any desire to safeguard or assist the mother.

During uterine life, taboos observed by the mother, possibly also by the father, are two-fold in their objective. First, a normal development must be secured, and there must be complete avoidance of foods which are believed adversely to affect the fœtus by causing abnormal development. The problem of securing a safe and easy delivery is likewise solved by symbolism, and for periods varying from days to weeks the infantile life is protected by restrictions imposed on the father during and after labour and delivery.[6]

The lying-in room is protected by charms against the evil eye; fires and snares guard the entrance against evil spirits; demons are kept at bay by continuous noise; offerings are made to the patron of childbirth; and there is no doubt that, from the time of conception to the end of labour, possibly for several days after delivery, every magical device is requisitioned for the successful launching of the juvenile life on the troubled sea of tribal experience. Infanticide has been extensively employed by primitive races, and though the practice must have declined considerably under civilising influences, detection is difficult, and in all probability the long arm of the law is not so effective as the influence of social reformers, and the gradual decline of customs attendant on the proximity of European settlers.[7]

Factors of tribal life which have in times past determined the frequency and method of infantile murder are

probably not so patent as one might suppose by taking a cursory glance at the evidence. Food shortage and the need for preservation of the group may have led to infanticide, undoubtedly these oft-mentioned factors have been contributory, though in all probability over-estimated causes.

These Egba twins are highly prized. Within small areas there is great difference in the social attitude toward twins.

Among hunting and warlike tribes on the trail of an animal or an opponent, the presence of infants must have been a serious encumbrance, and mothers burdened with infants in cradles, in addition to their customary loads, would in all probability lag behind. Social practices sanctioned by ages of custom might prove stronger than maternal instinct, and the child would be abandoned; of such instances, however, there could not be much available evidence; the

study of infanticide is more reliably based on existing beliefs, tendencies, and practices.

The murder of one or both of twins, and the elaborate purification ceremonies enforced on the mother, are the natural expression of superstitions respecting unexplained occurrences. Duple or triple birth is unusual, inexplicable, and fraught with possibilities of misfortune. There is no place in the primitive social group for deformed children, who are a burden to the community in addition to being objects of superstition and restless fear. A motherless infant is likely to be buried with its mother, because foster-parents are, as a rule, difficult to find; thus in these matters of life and death primitive man is logical, utilitarian, and unemotional, just as he is when dealing with the problem of disposing of the sick and aged. A woman of a primitive race usually suckles her child for a period of two or three years, during the whole of which time she is not allowed to cohabit with her husband, and this restriction, combined with the additional work imposed by rearing of offspring, must tend toward an unnatural limitation of families by abortion or infanticide.[8]

Should the newly-born child be welcome, as is generally the case, the treatment given during the first few days, and in subsequent months, is not irrational. Accounts already considered make mention of washing, gentle massage, oiling, and careful wrapping, though there are cases of foolish treatment such as the prolonged and intermittent immersion of a child in cold running water, or plunging the infant into a very hot bath. Charms and amulets in the form of necklaces, or objects distributed over the lying-in room, are considered indispensable. The infant may be marked in such a way as to ward off the evil eye, and, in general terms, the physical and psychic protection warrants the conclusion that the welcome child is treated according to the best traditional knowledge of the mother and midwives.[9]

Restrictions imposed on the father in that strange and widely-distributed custom, the "couvade," indicate a deep concern for the protection of child life. The male parent retires to his hammock, where he remains for a period which varies with local custom, and while in confinement the restricted diet, combined with prohibitions against use of weapons, show a genuine concern lest the infant should be injured by sympathetic transference of misfortune from parent to child.

One very noticeable weakness in the treatment of infants is the tendency to provide solid food such as banana, sago, or rice when the child is not more than six months old. Many primitive mothers chew tobacco, a habit which is

Chinese feet.

likely to affect the child injuriously in view of the tendency of the parent to feed the infant with masticated food from her own mouth.[10] Close confinement in a cradle during the first twelve months of infancy is possibly not so injurious to the more phlegmatic child of primitive parents as it would be for the more vivacious, sensitive, and highly strung infant which modern civilization and racial differences have produced.[11]

Cranial deformation, likewise nose- and ear-boring, should not be regarded as brutal or degrading practices. There are standards of beauty within the tribe, and as a consequence of this the mother wishes her child to be considered of not less than average beauty; so with this end in view the infantile cranium is flattened or elongated, while the nose is made broad or aquiline, according to

local custom. The same view holds with regard to deformation of the feet.[12]

The care exercised in selecting, maintaining, or possibly discarding a name, and in all instances of preserving secrecy, illustrates in the best possible way the desire of primitive parents to afford magical protection to offspring.

In spite of deformed feet these Chinese girls are able to play shuttlecock with toe and heel. Note the long finger nails, a mark of good social status, because manual work cannot be done.

An essential point to be borne in mind is the idea of primitive man that the name is an essential part of physical personality, and in various parts of the world we found evidence of a belief in ancestral reincarnation. Sickness and misfortune have been ascribed to an unhappy choice of name, divination has been used in order to determine which ancestral spirit has occupied the body of the child, and in almost every instance cited there is some mention of careful preservation of the real name from the ears of all

except the parents. A student of anthropology soon becomes acquainted with beliefs in the potence of sympathetic magic. Human hair, trimmings from nails, or even the clothing of an enemy can be used with the aid of suitable spells to cause suffering and death. As the hair withers in the fire, so will the hated one dwindle and die. When the waxen effigy of an enemy is pierced, so will the original person experience pain and death. Hence the natural extension of such ideas to the name, which is accredited with a concrete aspect quite unfamiliar to Europeans.[13]

With regard to the affection of parents, discipline, and the educative value of play, anthropological evidence speaks quite definitely.

Parental discipline does not exist, nevertheless there is the most important discipline of natural consequences which results from the very great freedom enjoyed by juveniles. The small child is not confronted with a list of " don'ts." He plays with the fire, or with sharp instruments, and learns the lesson. Broadly speaking, the parents among primitive races are kind, affectionate, interested, indolent, and apathetic toward juveniles, who are subject mainly to the formative influences which accrue from experiencing the pleasures or pains resulting from certain actions.[14] Play, especially when the infants are of various ages and both sexes, has an important part in developing character, and the training of primitive juveniles accords somewhat with the notions of Froebel, Pestalozzi, and the more recent Montessori. The juvenile lives in the open air; he associates freely with other children; all his motor activities are encouraged, while imagination has ample scope, and the constructive and destructive tendencies of early years are exercised in a manner which has an important bearing on adult life.

Children of primitive races cultivate hardy bodies,

physical and mental alertness, likewise knowledge of a utilitarian nature during the first eight years of existence. At an all too early age, however, the little girls specialise in domestic and agricultural duties, while boys continue their manufacture of toy weapons, mimic hunting, and warfare.[15]

When assisting with research work in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, I was surprised at the mental and physical alertness of small boys whose ages varied from eight to twelve years. Lads of ten years of age showed themselves very quick in learning English letters and numerals, which they painted accurately on packing cases containing archæological specimens. This mental, likewise physical, animation contrasted sharply with the somewhat dull, apathetic demeanour of the youth of eighteen.

Primitive children certainly lay a foundation for the educationist by equipping themselves with healthy bodies, also by training the powers of observation and deduction with regard to the movements of animal life. But at the approach of puberty an unremitting and monotonous cycle of duties claims the attention of girls, while boys are prepared for tribal life with its diurnal round of hunting, fishing, or pastoral pursuits, varied with attendance at special dancing ceremonies or tribal councils. The possibility, even the desirability, of educating primitive races has been questioned. In all probability some form of industrial and agricultural education would be beneficial, though the extent to which the educationist would be hampered by racial tendencies to early maturity, premature marriages, and want of powers of steady continuous application must be very considerable. In India, the difficulties of caste and religion are, of course, serious obstacles to the spread of elementary education, which is fundamental to the growth of a democratic self-governing nation.

Semi-Europeanising in thought, speech, and clothing

KAFIR KRAAL WITH FAMILY GROUP.
(Lent by Miss A. Werner.)

ZULU WOMAN ATTEMPTING TO WEAN HER BABY.
(Lent by Miss A. Werner.)

are evils of an educational system whose principle has too often been one of revolution rather than evolution. A fundamental requirement of success in training for self-government within the Empire is education along natural lines of development. In these chapters an attempt has been made to show the wealth of indigenous ability and sincerity which a trained educationist may utilise for the progress of all that is worthy in human endeavour. The irresponsibility of juvenile life in primitive tribes shows a pronounced contrast from the exacting demands made by tribal custom on a youth who has just reached puberty. For co-education of the sexes primitive man has no liking,[16] and at a very early age, generally before ten years have passed, small boys dissociate themselves from girls, who have commenced grinding corn, string bag-making, carrying water, collecting firewood, hoeing the garden, or collecting berries and wild fruits. Pubescent boys are taken in hand by old men of the tribe, who inculcate respect for traditional beliefs of a social and religious nature; and there is an early commencement of those formative processes described in the chapter entitled "General Education of Boys."

Should it be possible to bring primitive man to the bar of scientific inquiry concerning the subject of maternity and infantile welfare, he would in all probability be found guilty of extreme neglect of the mother before, during, and after delivery. The child, on the contrary, may receive a fairly rational clinical treatment, while the protection of the fœtus and the newly-born infant by magical means shows the very best of intentions, and the anthropologist who would estimate and evaluate the actions of primitive man must, in order to do justice to the case, consider motive and intention; not merely the net result of action.

In crude methods of abortion and infanticide primitive man has attempted to adjust population to subsistence, a

problem now to the fore in Great Britain,* France, and America. In England, biology, economics, and theology are all pressed into the service of this social conundrum, the importance of which I emphasise by quoting figures I collected from a class of 35 children (27 present) in a public elementary school of a dock area in East London :—

Informant.	Total Children in Family.	Remarks.	Whole or Half House (small tenements, 5 rooms).
1	10	3 away from home.	Half.
2	2	Both at home.	Whole house.
3	7	3 away.	Half.
4	12	2 deceased.	Half.
5	8	All at home.	Half.
6	9	Five away.	Whole.
7	2	Both home.	Half.
8	14	3 deceased, 2 away.	Whole.
9	5	1 away.	Whole.
10	5	All home.	Half.
11	3	All home.	Whole.
12	6	2 away	Half.
13	4	All home.	Whole.
14	8	All home.	Whole.
15	6	All home.	Whole.
16	1	Orphan living with grandparents, other children distributed among relatives.	
17	10	6 away.	Whole house.
18	10	1 deceased.	Half.
19	4	All home.	Half.
20	6	2 away.	Half.
21	10	3 away.	Half.
22	6	1 deceased.	Whole.
23	11	1 deceased, 1 away.	Whole.
24	2	Both home.	Half.
25	4	All home.	Half.
26	3	1 away.	Whole.
27	5	All home.	Whole.

There are 6·4 children per family on the average, to be supported on the wages of a dock labourer. Usually the small family enjoys a whole house, with advantages of fresh air, light, and privacy.

* Ettie A. Rout, "The Morality of Birth Control," London, 1925.

A universal belief in reincarnation, also the following grouped references, more especially numbers 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, cannot fail to cause serious reflection on the question of spontaneous ideas resulting from mental homogeneity, as opposed to the hypothesis of migration of customs from a centre. The common practice of dedicating infants to a deity, the importance of a name and its potence in magic, likewise the protection of mother and child by amulets, I could reasonably ascribe to the civilisation of ancient Egypt. If, however, one is pressed for definite evidence respecting the origin of cranial deformation and the couvade, there is difficulty in giving a satisfactory answer. In spite of this the whole evidence summarised in points 1–16 presents a *prima-facie* case for the belief that custom, having once arisen, spread over wide areas. Detailed research by specialists acting in harmony will alone suffice to elaborate the hypothesis that Egypt or some other centre was a point of origin for the complex of similar ideas which I have endeavoured to present with brevity.

Thus far we have followed the progress of child life from a pre-natal stage to a point where the ways of male and female adolescents bifurcate; we now make our special concern a study of the general education which the social unit deems necessary before, during, and after incorporation into tribal life.

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CHAPTER II

THE GENERAL EDUCATION OF BOYS IN PREPARATION FOR TRIBAL LIFE

Historical Aspects of the Problem.—Regional Discussion of Physical Education.—Solitude and Self Restraint.—Direct Moral and Spiritual Instruction.—Social Obligations and Respect for Elders.—Training in Magical Practices.—Uniformity of Methods and Ideals over Extensive Areas.—Psychology of Primitive Educational Systems.—Value of Suggestion and Suggestibility.

Introduction

Historical Aspect of the Problem.—The main points connected with initiation of boys into tribal life are

(1) Purification by emetics, sweating, bathing, scrubbing with sand, and the making of cutaneous incisions.

(2) Circumcision, incision, and sub-incision.[1]

(3) Physical suffering caused by a great variety of tests of endurance such as extreme fatigue in the chase, tattooing, cicatrising, heating, cooling, knocking out teeth, immobility for long periods, and whipping.

(4) Moral instruction, including tribal usages relating to obedience, courage, truth, hospitality, sexual relationships, reticence, and perseverance.

(5) Transfer of power from elders to novices by the latter going through the motions of hauling on a rope, blood transfer, rubbing with crystals, or blowing.

(6) Isolation accompanied by a taboo of silence, disguise

[1] See Hastings' Dictionary of Religion and Ethics, valuable discussion of origin, methods, and geographical distribution of circumcision; and W. E. Roth, "Ethnological Studies in North-West Central Queensland," Brisbane and London, 1897, pp.176–7.

by paint and dress, reception of a new name, and rebirth into the social group with many formalities.

(7) Training in magic of the so-called sympathetic variety whereby love is requited or an enemy injured.

This chapter shows that these are the usual factors of initiation, and so constantly do the ideas and practices occur in unison that one is driven to discard the facile suggestion of a psychic unity giving rise to independent origins. Historical inquiry should lead to the discovery of some basic concepts in an early civilisation which is likely to have had extensive, probably world-wide, migrations.

A comparison of the evidence of chapters dealing with initiation of medicine men, of boys and girls into tribal life, of novices into secret societies, will show how unified are these types of preparation. So constantly do the seven factors just detailed recur in several kinds of initiation, that an inquirer is led to believe that all have a common origin in certain well-defined concepts which migrated extensively.

With regard to circumcision, the earliest knowledge available is to be derived from examination of desiccated bodies from Naga-ed-der. These human remains show that there were incision and circumcision probably at puberty as an initiation to manhood.[1] Budge says that mummified bodies of ancient Egypt show that circumcision was general at all periods. He assumes that as the texts do not mention any religious import in dynastic times, such significance was probably lost before the period of written records. Budge calls attention to a VI Dynasty relief in the tomb of Ankh-ma-Hor at Saqquara (Sakkarah). This shows the act of circumcision being performed by a

[1] G. Elliot Smith, "Ancient Egyptians and Origins of Civilization," 1923, p. 62; Sir Gardner Wilkinson, "Manners and Customs of Ancient Egyptians," 1878, vol. i, pp. 66, 183–4.

priest of the Ka, but whether the priest was a member of the boy's family or an official priest cannot be said. Probably the act of circumcision (or subincision) was originally an offering made to one of the gods of virility or generation.[1] The anatomical evidence from Naga-ed-der is the more important for it takes us back more than a millennium before the period 2,600 B.C., at which the Sakkarah reliefs were sculptured. It is unlikely that circumcision is a derivative from Babylon for the practice is not known to have occurred there.[2]

Various types of physical suffering imposed on novices serve the useful purpose of testing, hardening, and eliminating, but there is no satisfaction in supposing that these universal practices were independently invented with such intention in view. If, however, rigorous tests, which frequently include blood letting by tattooing, scarifying, and whipping, are regarded as substitutes for and derivatives from human sacrifice, originally connected with puberty and fertility cults, we have a single generic idea whose migration and subsequent modification adequately account for the practices under discussion.

Purification, silence during isolation, and rebirth are ritual acts whose frequent reappearance and specialised nature are inadequately explained by theories of a psychic unity resulting in precisely similar practices. On the contrary, such ritual is comprehensible if we make comparisons with the ceremony of " Opening the Mouth " which had become a clearly-defined Egyptian ritual of the VI Dynasty. The main points of this ceremonial were purifications of the mummy by symbolic acts, recognition of the silence of death, and the act of " opening the mouth," which secured a second birth in the Underworld. The mouth of the

[1] W. E. A. Budge, " Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection," vol. ii, p. 220.
[2] A. H. Sayce, " Life and Customs of Babylonians and Assyrians," 1900, p. 47.

mummy was touched by an instrument named Pesesh-Kef, while the priest recited words of power, as a result of which the deceased could henceforth talk, think, walk, eat, and drink in the Under World. The occurrence of Neolithic forms of the Pesesh-Kef instrument indicates that the idea of " Opening the Mouth " is older than the dynasties of Egypt. Spencer and Gillen show old men of the Arunta tribe releasing young men from the ban of silence by touching their mouths with a sacred object.[1]

Training in magic, transfer of power from elders to novices, and instruction in making offerings to gods, or learning genealogies, are factors of tribal initiation which are probable derivatives from the special initiation of priests and medicine men ; there has been a popularising of what was at one time strictly the prerogative of ruling classes. These caste rights, privileges, and inceptions form the subject for a separate chapter. Moral instruction and the origin of codes to be taught during initiation has formed material for Chapter V, dealing with the ethical training of juveniles. Therein has been developed the idea that these recurrent codes for conduct are in all essential points indebted to the list of requirements which were demanded of an Egyptian who recited the " Negative Confession " in the Judgment Hall of Osiris before " Forty Two Assessors."

On its practical side the present chapter endeavours to show how fundamental are certain factors of initiation to tribal welfare, and an attempt has been made to explain how this ritual may be of service to the educator and administrator who is concerned with the social and moral development of primitive races.

[1] " Across Australia, vol. ii, pp. 290, 392. Fig. 264.

The General Education of Boys as a Preparation for Tribal Life

Evidence adduced in Chapter I concerning the early training of infants in primitive tribes tended to show that co-education of the sexes was discouraged at an early age; the girls commenced domestic duties and the boys entered upon the first of a series of preparations destined to equip them for full tribal fellowship.

No matter what particular primitive people are under consideration, there are broad basic principles underlying the training of a youth, who must be physically and morally standardised before becoming a unit of the tribal council. Physical education, prowess as a hunter or fisherman, knowledge of tribal law respecting theft, incest, and sacred matters are indispensable parts of the preparation of every novice who graduates in the sternly-disciplined school of initiatory rites.

Australia.—Ceremonies of initiation among the aborigines of Australia provide a useful illustration of the general scheme of physical and moral instruction which primitive races have adopted. For many years missionaries and bush pioneers had reported the existence of these ceremonies performed with the intention of converting boys into men, but not until 1884 was any careful and accurate description placed before the sociologist.[1] Following a comparative method, we may consider the broad outlines, also some details of initiatory rites among primitive races, with a view to drawing general conclusions respecting the educational advantages to be derived from a rigorous treatment of boys who have arrived at puberty.

Various tribes are obliged to assemble in response to the

[1] *Journal Anthropological Institute*, May 1884 and May 1885. Articles by Dr. Howitt; see Hastings' "Dictionary of Religion and Ethics," under "Initiation," articles by G. D'Alviella, J. Takakusu, J. E. Harrison, W. Crooke, W. Brandt, J. J. Modi.

Australian Boys awaiting Further Rites of the Initiation Ceremony.
(*Photo : Sir Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen :* "Across Australia.")

invitation carried by a special envoy who carries a carved message stick, and after the lapse of a few weeks all boys of a suitable age are gathered for the ceremony. Among the tribes of South-east Australia it is usual for fully initiated men to prepare a large clearing or "Bunan," which is surrounded by an embankment fifty feet in diameter. Some four or five hundred yards distant is a second clearing connected with the larger "bunan" by a path over which saplings are arched.

When these preparations are complete the ceremony is commenced by a youth who was initiated at the previous assembly of tribes. The young man selected walks near a log, from which he suddenly starts back with a wild cry of, "Gari! gari!" (a snake, a snake). Other men, likewise feigning surprise and horror, run up, shouting, "Where is it?" All the men run away in single file waving green boughs and shouting a warning to the effect that the ceremonies have commenced; hence women and children must keep far away from the sacred ground.[1] Various preliminaries may occupy several weeks, and corroborees are of nightly occurrence. By these methods, the community makes every effort to induce the maximum amount of excitement.

When all contingents have arrived the men, about daybreak, rush off, each carrying a fire stick or burning log. They run into the great bunan and make a huge fire in the centre; meanwhile the guardians of boys who are to be initiated have carried their charges to a smaller fire, kindled about a hundred yards away from the great bunan. There are two "kabos" or guardians for each novice, and on them devolve various duties. Their charges have to be provided with food and water, painted with the usual ceremonial stripes of white, and decorated round the forehead with bands of white grass. The instructors are

[1] A. W. Howitt, "Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," pp. 519–20.

responsible for acquainting their pupils with tribal laws and legends, the nature of a tribesman's duties in war or peace; while codes of morality and marriage laws are also expounded. The prestige of tribal medicine men is emphasised, and the instructors never fail to lay stress on the clairvoyance of the witch doctor and his power to kill by magical influence exerted from a distance.

Each instructor takes a part in carrying the novices to the great bunan, where they are placed in close proximity to a roaring fire. Each novice holds between his feet an upright digging stick to which is attached a man's full ceremonial dress, consisting of a belt of twisted opossum fur, a forehead band, and a pointed bone which at a later date will be worn through the septum of the nose. Then the first test of physical endurance is begun. The fire is built up until the novices have the greatest difficulty in bearing the heat, but it is a point of honour not to withdraw, and at length, when tribal elders consider that the youths have been sufficiently roasted, the magical bull roarer (a thin slat of wood tied to a long string) is whirled. The weird note is a signal for the boys to run to the path outside the bunan, where they lie down and are covered with rugs to prevent their observance of the performance of medicine men.

During the day following these ceremonies the "kabos" take their charges forth to hunt for food, and toward evening, when thoroughly fatigued, they are led back to the clearing in order to undergo the ceremony of knocking out the tooth.[1]

Old men, usually regarded as law-givers and judges in primitive society, have an important *rôle* to play during initiation ceremonies. After a wild whirling dance the old men rush toward the boys in an excited manner, led by the headman. All shout "Ngai," meaning good, and at the

[1] Howitt's "Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," p. 527.

KNOCKING OUT TEETH.
An incident in Australian initiation ceremony for boys.
(Sir Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen : " Across Australia.")

A VETERAN OF BABAI INSTRUCTING A YOUTHFUL INITIATE OF THE TRIBE INTO THE MYSTERIES OF MAKING AN ARROW-HEAD.
(F. Hurley : " Pearls and Savages." Putnam's Sons, Ltd.)

same time move their arms and hands, as if projecting some substance toward the boys, who go through the motions of hauling in a rope. Dr. Howitt says:—"By thus passing their magical influence to the boys, the medicine men and the initiated make the novices acceptable to Daramulun."[1] Ten masked figures gyrate wildly round a tree on which a figure of the God Daramulun has been carved, meanwhile causing a terrific noise by beating the ground with strips of bark and shouting "Wirri-wirri-wirri." (Quick! quick! quick!). This shout appears to be a signal for the guardians each to hold his pupil securely. A hideous figure, known as the "Gommera," emerges from behind the bushes, bearing in one hand a short wooden club, and in the other a chisel-shaped piece of wood. The "Gommera," claiming to be a representative of Daramulun, is clad in nothing more substantial than a coating of charcoal dust, and after much dancing and excitement he presses his teeth against the upper incisors of the boy. After several sharp blows have been given with chisel and club a tooth, generally an upper central incisor, is dislodged, and, of course, the unfortunate boy is expected to show his manhood by assuming a stoical indifference. According to Howitt, one boy whose tooth was dislodged at the seventh blow "could not have shown less feeling had he been a block of wood."[2]

At this point the novices were led to the tree on which a figure of the God Daramulun had been carved, and here the "kabos" gave instructions concerning the power of the deity. Boys were told that Daramulun lived beyond the sky, from which he watched the actions of the tribesmen:—"When a man died Daramulun met him and took care of him." He taught their fathers how to make weapons, and to him medicine men owed their skill. Daramulun can go everywhere, perform any physical feat, and

[1] Howitt's "Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," p. 535. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 540.

to him the tribe is directly indebted for the existing code of laws. After the completion of these remarks, the boys return to camp, where they are invested with a man's belt, and the whole night is passed in dancing and merry-making.[1]

In the Kaiabara tribe, old men instructed children in the marriage laws, about the boundaries of their country, and what they might eat. The boys stood in one row, the girls in another, and an old man would walk between the rows asking the boys which of the girls they would choose for a wife. If a boy selected a partner from the clan into which the tribal laws would not permit him to marry, he was abused, but, on the contrary, if he made a choice in accordance with tribal law he was praised.[2]

Among some Victorian tribes a novice was obliged to prove his prowess as a hunter by catching an opossum and carrying it alive in a bag round his neck to the initiation ceremony. This act was accepted by the old men as a proof that the youth had acquired skill as a hunter, and, moreover, that he could support the girl whom he intended to marry soon after the completion of his initiation.[3]

An important part of the instruction given to youths of the central tribes of Australia is connected with sacred objects and places. In connection with "churinga," or sacred objects of wood and stone, there is much mystery, and no woman, child, or uninitiated boy dare approach the hallowed repositories, which are usually located in some rock ravine, and there preserved from generation to generation. The newly-initiated boy is allowed to handle these decorated objects in the presence of the old men, who carefully explain how sacred ancestors presented the "churinga" to the tribe, and in what manner the sanctified objects may be used at ceremonies connected with magical

[1] Howitt's "Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," p. 542. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 230.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 610.

production of rainfall and food supply. During preparatory courses of instruction tribal elders know how to appeal to the boy's curiosity, fear and wonder, until the youth is in a state of nervous excitement concerning the knowledge which will come into his possession after the ceremony is completed.

"Up to the time of initiation the Arunta boy is taught that the strange noise, which warns him just as it does the women to keep away from the sacred ground, where men perform magical ceremonies, is the voice of a great spirit, Twanyirika." [1] Later the boy himself becomes acquainted with the bull-roarer.

A boy who enters seriously into the study of sacred matters is a source of delight to the tribal elders, who gladly instruct him. Should the youth be light and frivolous, or given to chattering with women, he grows up to be of no consequence in tribal council. After the initiation ceremonies are completed tribal elders speak quite freely of sacred or magical matters when boys are near, and before long each youth knows how to use the pointing bone which kills by magic at a distance, how to charm a woman, or track an enemy.[2]

In the Urabunna tribe the final ceremony in preparation of a youth for adult life is termed, "wilyaru"; a term also applied to men who have passed through the ordeal consisting of the making of a number of incisions on each side of the spine from the neck to the sacrum. The marks form a tribal distinction, and are said to be made in imitation of the marks of the bell bird, which, at a remote period, saved the black men from attacks by a hawk. The whole ceremony and process serve to illustrate the importance which Australian aborigines attach to physical endurance; the novice must show his manliness and insensibility to pain before he may enter into tribal fellowship.[3]

[1] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," pp. 344–5.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 346. [3] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 24.

A further discipline of self-denial is prevalent in Central Australia where the tribal elders instruct novices in the art of suppressing an appetite for the most coveted foods. Such instruction is of practical as well as ethical value, for in addition to forming a habit of self-denial and unselfishness, it enables the hungry hunter to tide over many a period of drought.

A youth of the Arunta tribe who has reached an age at which he may be of service in the quest for food, finds, to his disappointment, that there are numerous restrictions to determine what he shall or shall not eat; usually the choicest and most tempting things are strictly taboo. The restrictive laws are rendered more irksome by the fact that a boy is supposed to collect the delicacies which he himself would like in order to hand them over to his father-in-law, or, more correctly, to one of the old men who, according to tribal law, *might* be his father-in-law.

"There comes a time during one of the initiation ceremonies when a boy is thrown into the air and caught by the men. The offended father-in-law provides himself with a suitable cane, and as the boy rises and falls helplessly he hears someone shouting:—'I will teach you to bring me food.' Then he has ample cause to remember and regret his neglect of tribal custom." [1]

Parental discipline among the aborigines of Australia is exercised over boys only during early years, and after the youth is ten years of age correction, discipline, and instruction fall to the lot of tribal elders. An instance of punishment meted out to a boy who had broken a tribal law of the Warramunga people, who live three hundred miles north of the McDonnell Range, is narrated by Spencer and Gillen:—"On another evening we saw a big fire lighted in the main camp. A number of men were standing round it all jabbering at the top of their voices, and

[1] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. ii, p. 343.

AUSTRALIAN INITIATION CEREMONY.
Tribal elders throw the novice into the air.
(*Photo : Sir Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen :* "Across Australia.")

RELEASING AN INITIATED AUSTRALIAN BOY FROM THE BAN OF SILENCE.
(*Photo : Sir Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen :* "Across Australia.")

above all the noise we could hear the piercing yells of a boy. It turned out that they were giving the latter a fright, and that really it was all what they call ' monkey yabber.' The old men did not mean to do anything serious and were only pretending. The boy had done something that was against tribal law, so one or two of the older men talked the matter over and decided to give him a lesson. Accordingly they caught the culprit and took him to a fire, saying that they were going to roast him. The boy had no idea that they were not thoroughly in earnest, and judging from his yells when held near the fire he bitterly regretted his misdeeds. After giving him a fright they set to work and for half an hour lectured him on tribal law in general and the particular one he had broken in great detail. When they were tired and he was thoroughly repentant they let him go, and it is very unlikely that he will repeat the offence." [1]

The physical training and power of self-denial imposed on an Australian youth are of the greatest practical importance in view of the fact that Australian tribes are hunters who have no knowledge of agriculture. When the rains fall and food abounds, all eat heartily without any thought or misgiving for the morrow; but when at last prolonged drought causes the hunter to tighten his belt, he suffers very little. Training in the hard school of experience has so accustomed him to endurance that he will live and thrive by exercising acute powers of observation, under conditions which would rapidly exterminate a colony of Europeans.

Such is the effect of physical training, and now what may one say with regard to the mental and moral instruction? During the first ten years of life the moulding forces are domestic conditions and the fellowship of other children, but as the period of puberty approaches the whole

[1] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. ii, p. 383.

tenor of existence undergoes a great change. The entire purpose of initiation is the launching of boys into man's estate with full tribal fellowship and responsibility. The Australian has recognised an important psychological principle, emphasised by Professor William James, who urges the necessity of launching out on a new enterprise with a strong and determined initiative.[1] Initiation marks the transition from boyhood to manhood, and is without question the most momentous period of tribal life. The novice leaves the fellowship of his mother, games are forgotten, and a manly future is severed from a boyish past by an unbridged chasm. Communal welfare and tribal law must henceforth be of paramount importance, and for the indelible impression of these facts initiation ceremonies must necessarily be startling, awesome, and of a potence which will tend to influence the whole of the boy's future life.

Education of Boys in Melanesia and Polynesia.—According to the statement of Bishop Codrington, "There is not known in the islands of Melanesia any initiation or making of young men, there is only the entrance into various secret societies."[2]

There is, however, in Melanesia a specialised training for boys, arranged with the object of enforcing discipline, inculcating a knowledge of tribal traditions and precedent, also of stimulating the growth of those physical and moral qualities which are thought to be essential to the adult state. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that in Melanesia and Polynesia there are no puberty rites so rigorous, so universal, and so essential to tribal fellowship as those of the Australian Continent.

At Saa there appears to be a distinction between the initiatory rites of commoners and those of a chief's son,

[1] Wm. James, "Talks on Psychology," 1904, p. 68.
[2] Codrington's "Melanesians," p. 233.

Miriam Ceremony at Las (Torres Strait).
This " Bomai Malu " cult replaces the old initiation ceremony.
(Dr. A. C. Haddon : Reports of Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait, Vol. V. Cambridge University Press.)

who is subject to more severe restrictions. At a very early age the son of a chief takes up residence in the canoe house, a public hall, while children of commoners are still allowed to eat and sleep in their own homes. The preliminary training of a young chief, say up to the age of twelve years, appears to have been of a somewhat negative character. "He must not go under the women's bed place, his mother must never use bad words in scolding him; he must not consort with big boys who are likely to teach him bad ways; he is kept apart lest he fall low." [1] A training reminiscent of that afforded to Rousseau's model pupil "Emile." These preparatory customs and rites appear to be dying out, but at one period boys stayed in the canoe house for years, after there had been a preliminary sacrifice in order to purify them. Every morning the boys were taken out in a canoe until each had proved himself capable of catching a bonito fish, when he was said to be "saka," a word implying the possession of a peculiar power responsible for the success of fishermen. There does not appear to have been any training in addition to the acquisition of this peculiar power "saka." The seclusion did, however, confer a social distinction, and fathers would make a great effort to pay for their sons' long detention, the termination of which had to be celebrated by a large feast.[2] In acquiring the skill of a fisherman there is a distinct utilitarian value attached to the training, and it is of interest to note the parental self-sacrifice which was made by these primitive people who wished their boys to have a "start in life."

Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait 1898 contain valuable information concerning initiation ceremonies in Melanesia. In Tutu rites begin with the commencement of the N.W. monsoon, at which time a father is expected to hand over his son for

[1] Codrington's "Melanesians," p. 233. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 233.

tutelage at the hands of the boy's maternal uncle. A special clearing is made in the forest close to certain ancient trees with important historical associations, and to make the surroundings more impressive the trees are decorated with bones of turtles, to which the spear of a famous hunter may be added. In the clearing are four rough fireplaces, one for each clan; and near to these hearths squat old men who are to act as instructors.

Boys who are candidates for initiation are each day blackened with soot manufactured from burnt coconut shell, and in addition to this each novice is enveloped in a huge mat which confines him to stifling darkness during the whole day. All forms of play and conversation are forbidden, and throughout a tropical day these unfortunate youths sit still with downcast eyes.

Visitors are forbidden to go near the compound, whence after a day of painful inactivity the youths are marched off to a hut, from which they emerge again at the first break of dawn.

Any infringement of the rules is punished by death; a penalty which was enforced on one occasion when seven boys, tired of the discipline of inactivity, broke away and ran for freedom. During this trying period guardians are appointed, and the function of these is twofold, for, in the first place, they are to be regarded as policemen, and again as instructors who impress the necessity for observance of tribal lore.

The code of morals inculcated merits detailed consideration, not only on account of its value to primitive society, but likewise because of the humour of the informant's quaint expression.

"You no steal. You no take thing belong another man without leave. If you see a fish spear and take it, suppose you break it, and you no got spear, how you pay man? Suppose you see a dugong harpoon in a canoe and take it,

and man he no savvy, then you lose it or break it; how you pay him? You no got dugong harpoon.

"Look here! S'pose man tell you to do something you do it quick. S'pose man ask for food or water you give him half what you got. If you do you good boy, if you no do, no one like you.

"You work hard to get plenty fish and dugong and turtle. S'pose you got plenty fish you give mother and father before you give to brother. If you have wife give her a little, and plenty to parents for they have had hard work along you. Look after mother and father, never mind if you and your wife have to go without. Give half of all your fish to your parents, don't be mean. Don't speak bad words to mother. Father and mother all along same as food in belly, when they die you feel hungry and empty. Mind your uncles too and cousins. You no go and talk a lie you speak straight.

"S'pose man talk to your brother you help him too, you talk too. If your brother is going out to fight, you help him, don't let him go first, but go together.

"You no play with small canoe or with toy spear, that all finish now, you no play with boy and girl now, you a man now and no boy.

"You no like girl first, if you do girl laugh at you."[1]

This last-mentioned piece of advice to the novice bears out the statement of Dr. A. C. Haddon with reference to the proposal of marriage coming from the girl, a custom now discouraged by the missionaries, though on what moral or religious grounds is not clear. "The custom still lingers on in a modified fashion. I believe young men never made the first definite proposal of matrimony, although by scenting themselves they might indicate that they were ready to be tried. Girls fell in love at the dance festival

[1] "Reports of Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait," vol. v, p. 208.

during tests of agility and endurance. In former days the war dance and display of enemies' heads was an incentive to love making." [1]

Instructions continue; "You no marry cousin, she all the same sister; you no marry sister of your mate or by and by you will be ashamed; mates all same brothers." The characters of certain women are made known so that the boys may beware of them. Youths are taught how to concoct and administer a love potion to the girl they favour.

Evidence respecting preparatory instruction given in Mabuiag is in accordance with that reported from Tutu. Precepts have as an objective the teaching of respect for parents and elders generally, family and tribal cohesion, avoidance of incest, necessity for truth and honesty, use of magic for preparing a love spell, or stimulating growth of crops by waving the magic bull-roarer.[2]

"Suppose a man send you for anything you must do it quick. You no too-much run about." "When you want to speak some word you speak true, no tell lie, to tell lies no good." . . . "Suppose you're a bad boy you dead quick." [3]

When the weary month of seclusion has dragged to a close, a happy release is announced by the beating of drums. Novices are washed in the sea, scrubbed with leaves and sand, and anointed with coconut oil; all of which processes are symbolical of a clean, healthy commencement in adult life. Headdresses of cassowary feathers are given to the boys, a nose-pin is inserted, armlets are attached, and, as a last embellishment, the youth is anointed down the centre of the abdomen with "girl medicine," a substance supposed magically to attract the opposite sex.

The ceremony of restoration to parents and relatives,

[1] "Reports of Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait," vol. v, p. 223.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 218. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 214.

Scene at the Ceremony of Initiation of Youths by a Secret Society in one of the Torres Strait Islands. For the first time the boys witness the sacred dances and learn some of the legends of their tribe.

(Dr. A. C. Haddon : Reports of Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait, Vol. V. Cambridge University Press.)

after the month of seclusion, emphasises a point which is always prominent in the educational schemes of primitive races. There must be suppression of emotions and the boy is expected to refrain from showing the slightest response to caresses which are given. During the warm welcome he must remain still with downcast eyes, though it is clear from the instructions given to novices that respect and affection for relatives are distinctly encouraged. The boy has entered the stage of manhood and any display of emotion would be regarded as effeminate and *infra dig.*

For a further probationary period of three months the boy is in charge of a maternal uncle, during which time girls may make proposals of marriage. Should an acceptable girl make a proposition, acquiescence is notified by presenting her with a ring of string conveyed by an intermediary. The conclusion of these three months is marked by an important feast at which the bridegroom's people give him "big things to pay for the girl." Eventually the uncle gives his charge to the father, and the reunion of father and son is celebrated by kissing of the latter on forehead and chest, accompanied by energetic rubbing of noses.

In the south-east of New Guinea, in the neighbourhood of Bartle Bay, a confidential chat among fathers results in a decision that their sons shall be initiated when certain rushes have flowered. Boys are taken to the sea and made to swim under water, drinking as they go, after which an emetic of green coconut milk is given. Once more we have to note physical purging, symbolical of a clean start in a new social status.

Restrictions are imposed in order to teach habits of self-denial. Certain foods are totally forbidden; all nourishment must be prepared in small pots of special design and shape. Sexual intercourse is taboo. No special times are arranged for ethical instruction, but at irregular periods

during seclusion and after initiation the old men have informal talks with boys in order to ask questions testing the novices' knowledge of taboos. Again the novices bathe, bark belts are assumed; there is anointing with oil, and on return to the settlements the youths paint their faces black and red.

The chief points of transition from boyhood to manhood in the Roro district are enumerated by Dr. Seligman. Immediately before puberty, a boy receives the special designation "ibitoe," which implies that he must devote less time to childish games. He sleeps in the bachelors' house and must enter and leave the village by clear spaces behind dwellings; he may not use the main street.

A boy who is "ibitoe" may not eat in the presence of girls or women, and his virility must be displayed by obtaining food from bush or sea by unaided effort. Boys have to retire to the bush for the purpose of making a drum, which should on no account be viewed by women. Fish food is taboo, for the bones are thought to puncture the membrane of the drum by some process of sympathetic magic. For cooking, a small pot has to be used, as it is thought that a big round vessel would cause the novice's abdomen to swell to such an extent that he would be unable to compete in dances which are esteemed highly as a test of skill and endurance. It is at these dances that a girl falls in love and decides which boy she will select as a husband.[1]

People of the Elema tribes take their boys for collective initiation at the age of ten years, when all are painted red and secluded from the general community during the hours of daylight for a period of two months. Boys are allowed a little liberty at night, when a visit to the village may be made, provided the novice does not enter his parents' dwelling.

[1] Seligman's "Melanesians of British New Guinea," p. 257.

Older men are in regular daily attendance and under their directions boys make decorative belts, also bands for the legs, ankles, and wrists. Cooking is done by relatives, who send small boys to hand in the food through holes in the back of the fence. When satisfied that boys have been sufficiently trained, the chief in charge calls upon his people to make a feast. Everyone contributes to a pile of cooked food placed in the middle of the village, and after the banquet a dance is enjoyed by both men and women. The ceremony concludes with a platform speech from the chief, who announces that the novitiate has been successfully completed.

At Waima, the seclusion of boys who have attained the age of puberty lasts a year, during which four dancing ceremonies are held. At each function novices perform special ceremonial dances, each of which has appropriate ornaments tending to increase in number until each boy who performs at the final ceremony is quite unrecognisable. This disguise is symbolic of the changes, mental, social, and physical, which are leading to the youth's new status.[1]

When a boy of the Mekeo area reaches the age at which he should wear the perineal band, the event is recognised publicly by a feast from roast dog provided by the boy's father, and given to the boy's maternal uncle, who in his own house puts on the band. It is not allowable for the father or any of the paternal relatives to be present at this ceremony, which is meant to impress the boy with the fact that he has arrived at manhood.[2]

At Orokolo the initiation into tribal life falls into three stages :—

(1) At eight years of age the boy is introduced to tribal deities who promise their protection as a reward for obedience.

[1] Seligman's "Melanesians of British New Guinea," p. 268.
[2] Williamson's "The Ways of the South Sea Savage," pp. 62, 116.

(2) At thirteen years the boy is taught to regard himself as sacred and is forbidden the sight of women. Old men spoon-feed the novice and hold him up while he sleeps so that he may not defile himself by lying down in the ordinary way. It is interesting to ask whether this precaution may have been borrowed from the Polynesians who had a taboo against the feet of a chief touching the ground during the tattooing operation.

(3) The training is completed by fighting and head hunting expeditions.

The novice is taught not to do anything detrimental to the best interests of the tribe, and his life is linked by instruction with ancestral spirits. Old men reveal the religious import of rites which begin and conclude each stage of initiation, and after reintroduction to society the youth says he has an inner man, "the other fellow inside." [1]

In addition to these puberty rites, there is throughout Melanesia a widespread custom requiring each boy, and in some instances girls, to join secret societies. These private lodges act as a disciplinary power and may restrain evil-doers. But in most instances the function is anti-social, as the society terrorises for the purpose of extracting illicit payment, especially from non-members. Very often admission to and graduation in these society rites is a necessary preliminary to marriage, and a majority of men are members of one or more lodges. Rev. G. Brown was not able to discover that admission to such a society was an indispensable prelude to marriage or entry into tribal fellowship as an adult.[2]

The "Duk-Duk" society, noted for its extortions from non-members, possesses a sacred, secluded enclosure where

[1] J. H. Holmes, "In Primitive New Guinea," 1924, p. 119 *et seq.*
[2] Brown's "Melanesians and Polynesians," p. 59.

Boy climbing for Coco-nuts (Maewo), New Hebrides.
(Florence Coombe : "Islands of Enchantment.")

hideous dresses and masks are prepared. Novices are obliged to learn intricate dances, which are later to be performed in public, and during the period of seclusion the youth has no opportunity of seeing any female or uninitiated man, for to all such persons the "Duk-Duk" enclosure is strictly taboo. From the enclosure, accomplished dancers prance forth at dusk, grotesquely decorated, so as to effect a complete disguise. The accessories include spears and human skulls. Slowly the procession gyrates along the main street, which is instantly cleared, for terrified people dare do little except peep cautiously forth from the shelter of their doorways.[1] Youths wishing to identify themselves with the "Iniat" society were secluded in an enclosure and forbidden to have any intercourse with the village. Members of this society were generally regarded as people who possessed exceptional powers of witchcraft, and when hostilities were in progress those who belonged to the "Iniat" society were requested to work a spell against the common enemy by using sacred stones of peculiar shape. Some portion of the clothing of a foe would be placed in a hole covered by a sacred stone over which incantations were recited.[2]

Elders of the society claimed the power to render novices magically potent by persuading friendly spirits to enter their bodies, and to these familiars the youths appealed when there arose any necessity for cursing an enemy. A paid tutor is provided for each novice, who relies on his instructor for information concerning ceremonial dress, body paint, and magical formulæ. When in training, boys are taught how to pray to the spirits of fighting men who, in days gone by, possessed magical power, and in addition they are instructed in the art of invoking aid from the spirit of a deceased father, brother, or uncle.[3] The supplicants

[1] Brown's "Melanesians and Polynesians," pp. 59, 60, 69.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 72.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 87.

demand that the eyes and ears of their enemy may be closed so that he will readily fall a victim. Each night at a special hut, and every day near the boundary of the village, this magical performance of prayer and spell is rehearsed.

"The custom of separating boys from family life as puberty approaches is declining in Samoa, where the supreme test of manhood is ability to withstand an elaborate operation of tattooing without sign of emotion. Tattooing is simply regarded as an indispensable sign of manhood, and the practice is very rarely discontinued, notwithstanding the fact that the tattooing is now mostly concealed by the cloth that the people wear." [1]

The evidence adduced leads one to suppose that, though the arrival at puberty is not, in Melanesia, so consistently and thoroughly recognised as in Australia, there are nevertheless many important ceremonies which herald the approach of manhood. The boy is not allowed automatically and imperceptibly to pass from adolescence to manhood. In the Loyalty Islands, boys are commanded to swim in the sea every morning. They are forbidden to laugh and joke with girls, as this might retard growth of whiskers and speedy development of body.[2] On the contrary, the state of transition is marked by a training intended to emphasise qualities which will render the boy responsible. He must be a social asset and a source of strength and cohesion for his unit. A synopsis of the training afforded in Melanesia shows that primitive society in this area requires of its members reticence, thoughtfulness, respectful behaviour, industry, perseverance, prompt obedience, truthfulness, and discretion in dealing with the opposite sex, all of which qualities equip the novice for

[1] Brown's "Melanesians and Polynesians," pp. 103, 105.

[2] E. Hadfield, "Among the Natives of the Loyalty Group," London, 1920, p. 182.

tribal fellowship.[1] Warlike qualities are, without question, regarded as virtues; but it is only fair to recognise that prohibitions against theft, borrowing without leave, cursing, and scandal all tend to minimise the chances of conflict. The system must be judged according to the time and condition of its employment. Among primitive races, as among the more enlightened people of Europe, preservation appears to depend on physical strength and resource, hence the emphasis which primitive man places on physical fitness and prowess in battle. Polynesian training and initiation of boys appear to have been connected chiefly with inauguration of chiefs and priests. Perhaps this specialised initiation has been borrowed and developed along more popular lines by the Melanesians. In Samoa, all males between the ages of twelve and fifteen years were tattooed as a rite initiating them into manhood.[2]

Training of Boys in Primitive Tribes of North and South America.—The advancing years of a boy in the Salish, Dené, or other tribes of British North America are marked by an ever-increasing severity of discipline, which is calculated to harden the body, so rendering it immune from the fatigue and privations of a hunter's life. As early as the fourth year, a boy is made to take a cold bath in the early morning, and in both summer and winter this routine is followed.

"In some camps it was customary for the old people to whip the naked bodies of the boys with light rods, or small branches, before they were made to take their plunge in the snow-fed waters."[3] The head of each household made it his duty to see that the bathing parade was duly performed, and in some clans boys received a daily whipping to prevent them from becoming lazy and indolent. Another widespread practice was that of plunging the arms in icy

[1] A. C. Haddon, "Cambridge Expedition to Torres Strait," vol. v, ch. xii.

[2] Stair's "Old Samoa," p. 158.

[3] Hill-Tout's "The Natives of British North America," p. 246.

water, where they remained all night.[1] Abstinence, self-restraint, and complete seclusion accompanied transition from boyhood to manhood, and in contrast from the communal initiations observed in Australia we find the Indian boy retiring absolutely alone to the solitude of the wood, there to dream of his "manitu" or guardian spirit, an animal helper which was considered to be his familiar spirit for the remainder of life. A part of the ceremony performed in preparation for manhood consisted of bathing, painting, and indulgence in warlike exercises such as racing, wrestling, running, and leaping.

The necessity for some form of rigorous training is illustrated, not only by references to attacks from hostile neighbours and mentions of hardship of the chase, but also by the competition which is known to have existed within the tribe. A man might not be able to retain possession of his wife should he be defeated in a public wrestling match by a stronger opponent who challenged him. Among the Eastern and Northern Dené such contests aroused the greatest enthusiasm, and no question of the morality of competition appears to have been raised. Should a husband refuse the challenge, his wife will follow at the bidding of his antagonist, who leads her to his wigwam.[2]

Some account of the standard of morality enforced on children, or at any rate imparted indirectly, can be gleaned from folk-lore, which in the case of the Salish shows that shame and deep disgrace followed any lapse from virtue.

The ethical teachings of the Thompson Indians are worth recording in some detail, for, like the code imparted to Melanesian youths, they contain the best ingredients of our modern requirements.

It is bad to steal, because people will despise you and say you are poor; they will call you thief.

[1] Hill-Tout's "The Natives of British North America," p. 246.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 157.

It is bad to be unvirtuous, friends will be ashamed of you, you will be gossiped about, and no one will want to marry you.

It is bad to lie, because people will laugh at you, and when you tell them anything they will not believe what you say. They will call you liar.

It is bad to be lazy; you will always be poor and no woman will care for you.

It is bad to commit adultery, because people will avoid you and gossip about you. Your friends and children will be ashamed, and people will laugh and scoff at them. You will be disgraced or divorced. You will be called adulterer.

It is bad to boast; if you are not great, people will dislike and laugh at you—they will call you " coyte."

It is bad to be cowardly; people will laugh at you, insult and mock you. They will impose upon you and trade without paying. Women will not want you for a husband, they will call you woman and coward.

The list continues to state the disabilities which arise from being inhospitable or quarrelsome, while on the positive side the tribal elders used to state that those who were cleanly, honest, truthful, and liberal would be esteemed. The Thompson Indians may be regarded as the most refined and intellectual of the Salish tribes, but notwithstanding this fact it is surprising that there should be such an appeal, during moral instruction, to the sense of shame and sensitiveness of the stoical Indian. Apparently he could stand physical pain more easily than ridicule.

The researches of George Catlin among North American Indians, *circa* 1834, are of great interest to the anthropologist on account of their minute, accurate, and extensive observation of native life and social custom prior to the advent of civilisation. Passages referring to the selection of a " medicine bag " by a boy who has arrived at puberty, also accounts relating to training of boys by mimic warfare,

and descriptions of self-torture, are relevant to the subject of our inquiry into educational ideals of primitive races.

At the age of fourteen or fifteen years a boy is said to be ' making medicine " when he wanders far from his father's lodge to spend four or five days of privation and solitude in the forest. After a long period of fasting and prayer to the Great Spirit the boy falls into a sleep of exhaustion, during which he dreams of some animal helper selected by the Spirit to be his protector through life. On returning to camp, the boy relates his adventures to his father, who supplies food and drink, after which the youth sets forth with traps and weapons in order to ensnare the animal of which he dreamed. The skin of this creature when made into a bag constitutes the boy's " medicine " or protective agency, which remains on his person through life and at death is lowered into the grave with him.

Loss of a medicine bag is considered to be great disgrace, which is expiated only by killing a foe in battle and so capturing his medicine bag. This cherished possession Catlin was not able to buy even at a fabulous price.[1]

Sham fighting followed by a scalp dance is stated by Catlin to have been peculiar to the Mandan tribes of the Upper Missouri. These exercises were part of the ordinary education of every youth, constituting an important part of his training. Several hundred boys between the ages of seven and fifteen years were divided into hostile parties, each led by adult warriors of experience, who acted as teachers. At sunrise, the boys were led out to the prairie, each carrying a tiny bow and a number of grass arrows quite harmless in their effects. In each belt was a harmless wooden knife, and on the top of each boy's head a tuft of grass, " the scalp," held in position with fibre. Instructors led their pupils carefully through various manœuvres, after which the hostile parties were brought

[1] Catlin's " North American Indians," vol. i, p. 36.

face to face and the fight commenced. Bows were bent and missiles sent flying while the lads whooped and sprang about in defence and attack. A boy struck by an arrow in a vital part was obliged to fall, whereupon his adversary advanced and went through a scalping motion in order to remove the tuft of grass which did duty for a scalp. Then once again the victor rushed into battle.

The Sweat Bath is part of an Initiatory Rite among many North American Indian Tribes. The Mandan Indians alternately steamed the novices and plunged them in the river. Sweating was also a therapeutic measure. (*After Catlin.*)

In the words of Catlin, " This mode of training lasts an hour or more in the morning and is performed on an empty stomach, so affording them a rigid and wholesome exercise whilst they are instructed in the important science of war." [1] Probably five or six miles of ground are covered during the evolutions, after which all return to camp, where their endurance is applauded by chiefs and braves. Boys who have been successful in capturing scalps are encouraged to

[1] Catlin's " North American Indians," vol. i, p. 36.

come forward brandishing these, yelling, and reciting their deeds of valour after the manner approved by adult warriors at the conclusion of a sanguinary encounter. Young girls are encouraged to witness this ceremony in order that they may reward the boys with looks and words of commendation.[1] Swimming was a favourite exercise with tribes bordering on the rivers. "They all learn to swim well and the poorest swimmer among them will dash fearlessly into the boiling, eddying current of the Missouri, crossing it with perfect ease." [2]

Descriptions of self-inflicted torture constitute some of Catlin's most gruesome pages; notwithstanding the horror which the reader experiences, there are points of commendation in even these outrageous practices. Young men weakened by fasting during a period of four days and four nights entered the arena, in which they had to suffer extremities of self-inflicted torture, so that tribal leaders might be chosen. Skewers were passed through the flesh of the shoulders so that the victim might be suspended, and when this was accomplished weights were attached to his feet so that the muscles severed and the wretched man fell to the ground. There he lay quite exhausted and helpless, and no assistance was allowed, for it was considered that during the entire ceremony the young men gave their lives into the keeping of the Great Spirit, whom they trusted to bring them safely through the ordeal. Ghastly as the rites were, they nevertheless indicate a marvellous reliance on spiritual power to the absolute exclusion of all other aid.

According to McClintock, these tortures were not performed, as is sometimes stated, for the making of warriors. Neither may the acts be regarded as deeds of bravado; they are correctly described as religious expiations to the sun for favours granted, as, for example, wonderful preservation during close combat.[3]

[1] Catlin's "North American Indians," vol. i, p. 36. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 96–7.
[3] Compare McClintock's "The Old North Trail," p. 318.

Ability to pass such gruesome ordeals is perhaps rightly regarded as the act of a religious devotee, not as part of an essential training. Nevertheless, according to Catlin, the performance was critically watched by tribal elders, who sought the fittest for chieftainship. Evidently the rite set a standard of physical endurance at which the youth should aim. E. Thurston says that the hook swinging of India does not seem to be in any way connected with the religion of observers but to be performed in fulfilment of vows.[1] When the novice had sufficiently recovered, he allowed the removal of the little finger of the left hand; some braves permitted also the amputation of the index finger of the left hand, and the little finger of the right as a further sacrifice to the Great Spirit. Throughout the whole of these cruel acts the chiefs and dignitaries of the tribes looked on in order to decide who bore the ordeal with the most unflinching courage, so that they could appoint him to the most honourable and difficult position in time of war. Initiation was concluded by a test described as "the last race," a very applicable term, for many succumbed to their injuries, which led to complete exhaustion. Weights were attached to the legs by skewers; these tore out the muscles as the candidates strove to endure in the contest, during which each weighted novice was fastened to a stalwart, unhampered runner, by means of a wrist thong.

One by one the exhausted candidates fell to the ground, where they remained as before in the keeping of the Great Spirit, and no human assistance was permitted, however bad the physical condition might be. A point of honour and tradition demanded that the novice should not sever the weight which had to remain until the skewer tore away the flesh. In one instance, an exhausted youth crawled away to the prairie, a distance of half a mile, to a lonely place, where for three complete days and nights he remained with-

[1] E. Thurston, "Ethnographic Notes in South India," Madras, 1906, p. 487.

out food or drink, praying to the Great Spirit, until the weight was released as a result of mortification. He thereupon crawled back to the village on his hands and knees, was nourished, and enjoyed a complete recovery.[1]

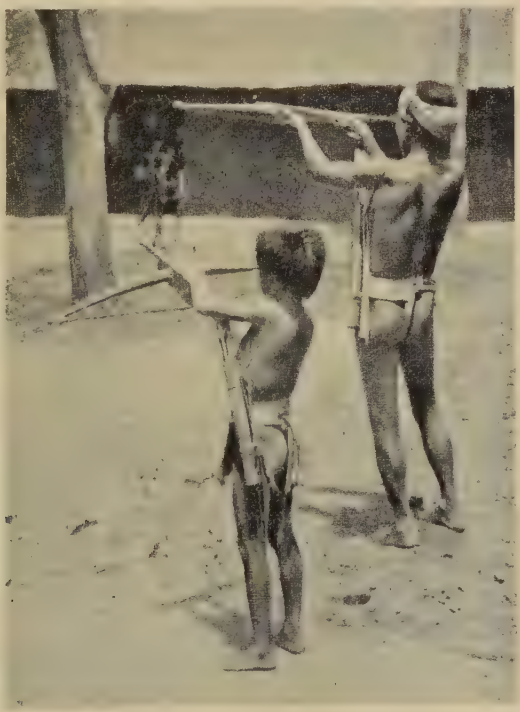
Remarks of Sir Everard im Thurn concerning initiation of Indian boys of Guiana once again call attention to the importance which primitive people attach to physical endurance. It appears that before a boy is allowed to choose a wife he must prove himself capable of performing a man's work. Industriously he commences; makes a clearing in the forest, plants cassava, and shows his prowess as a hunter and fisherman by bringing in stores of food. Without displaying any sign of pain, the boy allows himself to be sewn up in a hammock full of fire ants, suffers the making of incisions in his flesh, or in some other similar way indicates that the hardihood of man's estate has been reached.[2]

Miscellaneous Instances of Training for Adult Life.— This question of preparation for adult life appears to illustrate and support the contention that there has been a common source for initiatory methods of primitive man, for there is a striking analogy between routine employed in widely-separated areas inhabited by peoples of totally different racial characteristics.

Among the Nagas of Assam young men are required to give some proof of their attainment of social and physical maturity, and to this custom the practice of head hunting may be attributed. W. J. Perry regards head hunting as a modified form of human sacrifice (" Children of The Sun," 1923). Possibly amputation of fingers and other physical suffering described by Catlin, in connection with the Sun Dance, may be modified forms of human sacrifice to the Sun. At the present time each male adult of the Naga

[1] Catlin's " North American Indians," vol. i, p. 173.
[2] im Thurn's " Among the Indians of Guiana," pp. 219–21.

Boys learning to Shoot with Bows and Arrows (Guadalcanar).
(Florence Coombe : "Islands of Enchantment."



Moi Archer (Annam) teaching his Son to Shoot.
(*Photo : Mme. Vassal.*)

spite of the more gentle aspects of Buddhist training, there still survives a painful ordeal of tattooing which marks the transition from boyhood to manhood. "A Shan boy is considered to have reached manhood when he has been tattooed, but until he has enough courage to endure the painful and trying operation his status is that of a child." [1] Opium may be adminstered, but as a rule much endurance is necessary and the patient cannot be said to find consolation in the remarks of bystanders, who are wont to say: "You wriggle too much, people will think you are only a little boy." No girl thinks an untattooed boy suitable for a husband, so that the operation is rightly regarded as a pain test similar to, but perhaps less severe, than the majority of tests imposed at initiation ceremonies. Onlookers remind the patient that should he spoil the tattooing no girl will regard him favourably.

Shan youths who enter a monastery learn the writing of Burmese characters, possibly also a little arithmetic, with which, however, we are not concerned in this inquiry into the primitive elements of educational systems. Ethical codes adopted by the Shans compare favourably with those of most primitive races, and in some respects appear to be distinctly in advance of these. Some of the precepts inculcated are:—Do not destroy life; do not steal; commit no impure act; do not lie; do not drink intoxicating drinks. Boys are instructed not to kill the friendship of others by telling stories which might separate friends. They are further enjoined to avoid scandal, and, on the contrary, to use "sweet and pleasant words" when speaking of their neighbours. The advice continues in like strain:—"Do not accumulate money unless you are going to use it for good acts. If you have money spend it in digging wells in a dry land, in building bridges where streams run deep, and in erecting monasteries and pagodas." [2]

[1] Milne's "The Shans at Home," p. 60. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

PUNANS, A PRIMITIVE JUNGLE TRIBE OF BORNEO, WORKING WILD SAGO.
(*Photo : Dr. C. Hose :* "Pagan Tribes of Borneo.")

SAKAI WITH SPRING TRAP (PERAK).
(W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden : "Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula."

Games may be said to play an important part in the training of Shan boys who are fond of a primitive bat and ball game, stilt-walking, and top-spinning. It is noticeable that, on account of Buddhist prohibition against taking animal life, amusements connected with the use of weapons are of negligible importance. In the lives of a vast majority of primitive people such exercises are an important part of training, because of their value as a means of self preservation by hunting and fighting.

The Veddas of Ceylon take their boys out hunting with grown men when the lads are about ten years old.[1] In addition to learning safe and economical methods of gathering honey from the combs of the rock bee, the youths are encouraged to shoot birds or fish and to track game. During very early years boys may be seen climbing fibre ladders suspended over the face of rocks near their cave dwellings; a game, without doubt, but one which gives the suppleness, dexterity, and nerve which are later required by the adult gatherer. Every action of the genuine honey collector is carefully imitated. The boy provides himself with green leaves tied with creeper, an arrow, and a broken gourd, then, so equipped, he scales the ladder hanging over the face of the cliff. He sets fire to the leaves and after blowing smoke into the crevices of the rock, he carries out the motions of transferring honey to the gourd with his arrow. While descending the ladder, the youth beats himself to drive off the bees, then on reaching the ground rushes away quickly to out-distance the swarm. The make-belief is sometimes carried to the extent of arranging a visionary meal, which all pretend to enjoy;[2] the play being similar to that arranged by Australian children, who invite one another to dine from imaginary banquets of kangaroo, emu, and opossum.

[1] Seligman and Seligman's "The Veddas of Ceylon," p. 91; compare with E. H. Man, "The Andaman Islanders," London, 1883, p. 109.

[2] Seligman and Seligman's "The Veddas of Ceylon," p. 91.

The Ainus of Japan, following the free natural course of primitive educational method, teach their children to read the great book of nature. "The mountains, rivers, and sea were their schoolhouse, necessity was their instructor, inclination and the weather were the only forces which made them work."[1] There were, however, many restraining influences, and obedience to parents, a careful regard for the elder brother, and reverence for old men of the village were thoroughly established principles, which formed the core of all moral instruction, either directly given, or brought to the fore in popular legends. The essence of good behaviour for children was silence, and the old maxim respecting the desirability of children being seen and not heard was thought to be of fundamental importance in the inculcation of good manners.

With regard to education within the family, it may be said that while the father made himself responsible for the physical, mental, and moral instruction of boys, the education of girls was relegated to the mother.

Every youth was well acquainted with methods of fishing and hunting. He knew how to make bows and arrows and how to set spring bows in the trail of animals. Evidently some care was exercised during the period of instruction, for a knowledge of poisons used for the destruction of animals was withheld until the adult stage was reached. Even then the secret of preparing the drugs was communicated only to a few chosen pupils.

Such knowledge served directly toward the self-preservation of the individual and his group, and in addition to an account of this instruction the Rev. J. Batchelor gives an interesting narrative of the methods of imparting topographical knowledge of preservative value :—

"Next they were taught the names and shapes of certain mountains and hills, the names and courses of the chief

[1] Batchelor's "The Ainus of Japan," p. 109.

Instructing Kayan Youths in the Jungle.
(*Photo : Dr. C. Hose :* "Pagan Tribes of Borneo.")

A Lesson in Wood-carving (Sarawak).

(*Photo : Dr. C. Hose.*)

rivers and streams so that they might not get lost when out on a hunting expedition." [1] Boys also had to learn the secret and quickest routes to different places, and last, but not least, they were taught to make "inao" [2] and "nusa" [3] offerings, also what forms of prayer to use on different occasions. Instruction was given concerning salutations; ancient traditions were repeated, and it is evident that the Ainu curriculum was designed to impart a well-balanced training, having due regard to the claims of physique, moral sense, and religious sentiment, for each point received careful consideration. The question of good manners and refined behaviour is not neglected, and each Ainu boy is instructed in the proper method of paying a call. He is taught to enter the house of a friend and advance to the centre of the hut after giving an apologetic cough. There he must sit bareheaded and cross-legged, conversing, after inquiring with regard to the health of each member of the family, and invoking blessings on the household. During this time it is etiquette gently to continue rubbing hands with the host.

Until a Kayan boy has attained the age of five or six years he remains under the care of his mother, who allows him to spend the whole day in play. The only sign of advancing years is the insertion of a plug of wood in each ear lobe during the third year. Young boys spin their peg-tops, fly kites, play among the boats, throw toy spears at inoffensive domestic animals, indulge in wrestling or other trials of strength, swim, run races, and so, in common with primitive children generally, prepare for the more serious responsibilities of war and the chase. When a boy is sufficiently strong to run and walk long distances, he accom-

[1] Batchelor's "The Ainus of Japan," p. 109.

[2] *Inao*, sacred offerings to gods, when placed singly.

[3] *Nusa* is the name applied when a number of offerings are made collectively. Both "inao" and "nusa" sometimes consist of whittled willow wands with shavings at the top.

panies men for excursions to the jungle or along rivers. On the padi farms, boys are taught the routine of sowing, reaping, and garnering, and at a very early age are employed in scaring away birds. The chief educative influence in the life of a Kayan boy appears to be his participation in expeditions to the jungle, during which older men expect him to take a fair share of the responsibility and work.

Physical punishment is almost unknown and a youth is expected to learn taboos and prohibitions as a result of constant checking. For a Kayan youth there are no elaborate ceremonies marking a passage from the realm of childhood to that of man's estate; the transition is very gradual, until at fifteen years of age boys make a party and repair to the bachelors' Club-house, henceforth to enjoy the company of elders, whose conversation instructs in details of fishing, hunting, and warfare. The training of Kayan boys contrasts sharply with that afforded to aborigines of Australia, where the line of demarcation between juvenile and adult life is precisely drawn. For some time preceding initiation, the Australian boy is alarmed and mystified by old men, who partially enlighten him with regard to the use of magic, the preservation of sacred objects, and the manipulation of the bull-roarer. Such things are vaguely mentioned so as to arouse curiosity, a very potent factor in all education. Among the pagan tribes of Borneo "there exists no body of secret knowledge, of tradition, or rites shared in only by the adult men." [1] Although games form part of the early education, there does not appear to be much scope for training in leadership or organisation, so that the exercises have not the educative value which one might attribute to them.[2] The ages of importance in the life of a Kayan boy appear to be three, ten, and fifteen years,

[1] Hose and McDougall's "The Pagan Tribes of Borneo," vol. ii, p. 168.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 163.

PUNANS.

A primitive jungle tribe of Borneo. This group was photographed at Bok, Baram.

(*Photo : Dr. C. Hose :* "Pagan Tribes of Borneo.")

which are celebrated by ear-boring, assuming a waist-cloth, and going to live in the bachelors' Club-house.

At the age of fifteen, powers of musical expression are developed, and each boy is encouraged to play the jew's harp and drum. The art of dancing is encouraged and special importance is attached to a war dance employed to celebrate victory. Single combat is imitated, and for this part of the ceremony special instruction is afforded by the old men.[1] The training in ceremonial dancing to celebrate a victory is not unlike that which Catlin reports for the Mandans, who had a special early morning sham fight and scalp dance for their boys.[2]

Before European intervention the *sine qua non* of manhood was the taking of a human head, an act which also formed a necessary prelude to marriage. This custom now survives in a modified form in the rite which requires a boy to strike twice at heads taken in battle before he may be said to have reached the adult stage. This ceremonial act is performed for the first time when the puny arm has to be guided by that of an accomplished warrior, who directs the sword-cut. The second act of striking at heads is usually performed between the ages of eight and fifteen years, and there is now much difficulty in providing the necessary heads, so that the gruesome trophy is lent from house to house. At the approach of a returning war party, boys who are to participate in the rite of striking at heads are marshalled by a specially appointed master of ceremonies. This dignitary transfixes a fowl on a spike, then severs the body into three portions, one for adults of the house where the ceremony is to be performed, one for boys who are to perform the slashing at heads, and a final portion for infants. The master of ceremonies addresses the novices with reference to the importance of the occasion, then, after tying

[1] Hose and McDougall's "The Pagan Tribes of Borneo," vol, ii, p. 164.
[2] Catlin's "North American Indians," vol. i, p. 36.

a bracelet on each youth, he smears it with blood from the fowl which has been sacrificed.[1] This smearing with blood is common among Australian tribes at totemic ceremonies, or when certain males are banded together to form an avenging party. The act is symbolic of unity, cohesion, and combined fixity of purpose. In the Kayan ceremony, a handful of rice is thrown on a burning log, and when the grain is scorched a particle is given to each boy. Here, then, we have the blood sacrifice and sacramental meal which commemorate a launching out into the new existence of manhood. The savage has apprehended a great psychological principle, namely, that success in a new enterprise depends on a strong, well-marked initiative.

Presently the war party is met by an old man, who goes down to the river for that purpose. In due course, a triumphal procession arrives carrying the heads, which are struck at by each boy in turn as he is led to the ordeal by a master of ceremonies, who guides the hand of the striker. True to the general procedure of primitive initiatory rites, there is ceremonial bathing during which a garland that previously decorated the head of an enemy is waved over the swimmers, possibly to impart the virtues of the fallen foe. During feasting which follows, boys may partake of food only twice a day, and in this act of self-denial the Kayan system once more approximates to that adopted by other primitive people. Discipline, training in modesty, and self-restraint are the essentials of the savage's educational system. The boys themselves are extremely keen on taking part in this ceremony, for until the rite is celebrated, they may not participate in a predatory expedition.[2] Training in hunting and wood craft within the forests is likewise an important element in the rearing of Bornean boys. A painful mutilation, involving the transverse perforation of

[1] Hose and McDougall's "The Pagan Tribes of Borneo," vol. ii, p. 168.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 170.

GALLERY OF A KAYAN COMMUNAL HOUSE, BARAM DISTRICT (SARAWAK).
Co-operate life under a chief is a useful discipline and social training.
(Photo: Dr. C. Hose.)

Fly River Long House.

Each family has a separate compartment in this communal dwelling of the clans. Such life is a valuable social training.

(W. N. Beaver: "Unexplored New Guinea." Seeley, Service & Co., Ltd.)

the glans penis, and the insertion of a short rod of polished bone or hardwood, marks the transition from boyhood to the adult stage, as is the case among Australian tribes where the " mica " operation is performed.

In Borneo as elsewhere, the modifying effect of civilisation is already manifest and before many years have passed the anthropologist will deal with survivals only. Communal life in the long houses, presided over by a chief, is of great importance and the institution should be fostered by administrators. Breaking up into smaller dwellings will result in loss of traditional authority through which the European should seek to govern.

" The Government of Borneo has established a number of excellent mission schools in older stations, where great numbers of children of pagan tribes have been made Christians and trained to fill subordinate posts in the administrative service, or to return to their native villages with a better understanding of principles which underlie the white man's conduct. The missionaries have also exerted among the Sea Dyaks a strong influence making for peace and order, but they have hardly come into contact with the Kayans and Kenyahs. Malay schools have also been instituted by the Government in the principal stations in which young Malays receive the elements of a useful education." [1]

Training Boys in Africa.—The general education of boys for tribal life in Africa is characterised by circumcision which is a test of physical endurance and the imposition of taboos to inculcate power of self-restraint. Isolation is prescribed in order to lead the youth to reflect on the duties and responsibilities of manhood, while there is generally a scheme for impressing upon boys the necessity for respecting tribal elders.

When Masai boys are ready for circumcision, they

[1] Hose and McDougall's " The Pagan Tribes of Borneo," vol. ii, p. 307.

announce the fact by jointly visiting the kraal of the local medicine man, taking with them presents of cattle and honey. To impress the fact that they are still boys, sticks only may be carried, but the approach of puberty, with attendant ceremonies, is made plain by the assumption of a coat of white chalk. On the first day of the rites, a sheep or bullock is slaughtered, and on the second day a tree cut by the boy is carried away and planted near his kraal by one of the girls.

Before sunrise, on the morning of circumcision, the boy washes himself in water in which a fern has been soaked, after which he sits still until he feels very cold. When the sun is above the horizon, the mother of the novice stretches an ox hide near the right-hand post of the kraal gate. The novice seats himself on the skin, and before long the operator appears, accompanied by two men, who hold the youth during the act of circumcision. If the boy shows cowardice by wincing during the operation his mother is beaten with sticks, presumably for neglecting the early training of her son. Parents who fear that their boy will prove cowardly hide themselves during the ceremony. Each boy carries the ox hide to his bed, where he remains for four days, then appears in public and is tonsured. He discards the long garment of youth in favour of a warrior's skin and ornaments. The boy announces the arrival of manhood by shooting with bows which have been prepared for him during the four days succeeding circumcision. Boys who have behaved in a cowardly manner are not allowed to shoot birds.[1] An interesting feature of the Masai rite is an observance, by the novice's father, of a custom known as "The passing of the fence," [2] which

[1] Hollis's "The Masai," p. 296.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 294–95. *Initiation of Masai* and other points concerning juvenile education are dealt with in Thompson, "Through Masailand"; Sir H. Johnston, "Uganda Protectorate," London, 1902; *J.A.I.*, June, 1904; S. L. Hind and H. Hinde, "Last of the Masai," London, 1901, p. 41; M. Merker, "Der Masai," Berlin, 1910.

includes the brewing of honey wine for neighbours and isolation for four days in a specially constructed hut outside the kraal. During this period the father must wear the accoutrements of a warrior, and there is evidently an idea of ordering the parent's conduct so as to affect the successful passage of the boy from youth to manhood.

Boys of the Masai tribe have to suffer extraction of the central incisor teeth of the lower jaw, not as a test of endurance as with the Australian aborigines,[1] but in order to facilitate feeding during lockjaw. The parents extract the teeth without ceremony, at the age of eight months and twelve years.[2] During archæological work in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, I have found numerous skulls showing removal of the upper and lower central incisor teeth. From the position of quartzite lip studs it was judged that the extractions had been performed to permit of the perforation of the lips by ornamental studs.

Of the transition from boyhood to man's estate among the Akikuyu, S. Routledge says: "By the rite of circumcision, with its complicated ritual, each individual passes from the condition of simply being the property of Kikuyu parents to that of a member of the Kikuyu nation, with its accompanying rights, privileges, and obligations." [3]

The age at which initiation takes place varies greatly for the parents are expected to make payment to tribal elders; hence poverty is an obstacle to tribal fellowship. A delayed circumcision rite is a lifelong disability, because seniority in the tribe is reckoned from the time when such rite is celebrated, and "a name is given to each successive annual celebration by which those who are admitted that year are differentiated from their predecessors." [4]

Youths are prepared for the ritual of circumcision by four

[1] Howitt's "Natives Tribes of S.E. Australia," p. 527.
[2] Hollis's "The Masai," p. 313.
[3] Routledge's "With a Prehistoric People" (the Akikuyu), p. 154.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 154.

months of dancing, accompanied by wearing of ceremonial dress, head shaving, and dilation of ear lobes.

At the great dance given on the day prior to circumcision the novices dance the whole night round a sacred tree, and it is interesting to note that the mothers of novices are among the most honoured guests. As a rule women are excluded from initiatory rites but mothers are privileged.[1]

In a South African tribe, the Ba Thonga, a circumcision school is held every fourth or fifth year and all boys between the ages of ten and sixteen years are sent there by their parents. On the way to the " yard of mysteries " novices have to jump over a fire made from scented woods, and as the enclosure is approached terrifying noises from drums and horns are heard. The boys have to run between two lines of men, who beat them with switches, after which there is ceremonial tonsure for the novices, and eight men rendered hideous by lions' manes make their appearance in order to perform the circumcision.[2] At the Australian ceremony of knocking out the teeth, the " gommera," a male representative of the God Daramulun, dances into the arena where the boys are lying. This grotesque figure is made hideous by baring of the lips and dusting the body with charcoal, in fact everything is done to stimulate fear within novices.[3]

Ba Thonga boys undergo an isolation period of three months in the " yard of mystery," where direct moral instruction is given by a specially appointed teacher, who arranges that his pupils shall be hardened by receiving blows and punishment, likewise by enduring the privations of cold, thirst, and unsavoury food. Death is the penalty for attempted escape from the compound,[4] and in this rule

[1] Routledge's " With a Prehistoric People " (the Akikuyu), p. 158. Compare L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, " Kamilaroi and Kurnai," Brisbane, 1880, p. 197, and Williamson's " The Ways of the South Sea Savage," p. 62.

[2] Junod's " The Life of a South African Tribe," vol. i, p. 74.

[3] Howitt's " Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," p. 540.

[4] Junod's " The Life of a South African Tribe," vol. i, p. 80.

Circumcision Ceremony of the Bagesu.

(*Photo : Canon Roscoe :* "The Bagesu." Cambridge University Press.)

Circumcision Ceremony of the Bagesu.

(*Photo : Canon Roscoe :* "The Bagesu." Cambridge University Press.)

we have an analogy to the prevailing custom in Tutu, an island of Torres Strait, where "infringement of rules is punished by death." [1] Once seven youths, tired of the irksomeness of discipline, broke away from the "kwod," and seeing their mothers with some yams shouted out to them and asked for food. The boys were taken back to the "kwod" and killed by their own fathers.

With regard to the Ba Thonga rites, Junod states that they are "calculated to give the candidates the impression that they are now men, and that they must prove it in submitting manfully to all the trials of their hard and sometimes cruel initiation.[2] The instructor climbs a tree and shouts, 'Little boys, do you hear me I say?' then when attention has been secured he proceeds to give details of greetings which pass between fully initiated men of the tribe. Such salutations may be regarded as the *bona fides* of communal fellowship. No sleep is allowed during the last night of the boys' incarceration, and as a final warning the instructor says: 'Try now to behave like men, it would be unworthy of you to steal sweet potatoes in the fields as you used to.' [3] The words imply a distinction between the moral codes of children and those of adults."

"All Bantu tribes regard the passage from childhood to adult life as a solemn event to be marked by more or less elaborate ceremonies." [4] This respect for puberty and its attendant rites arises from a recognition of the mysteries of life, which include all changes of a physiological kind. There is the feeling "that life is surrounded by unknown and incalculable forces, which must in some way be propitiated and made harmless in order to help children in the difficulties of existence.[5]

[1] "Reports of Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait," vol. v, ch. vii, p. 210.
[2] Junod's "The Life of a South African Tribe," vol. i, p. 80. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 85.
[4] Werner's "The Natives of British Central Africa," ch. vi, p. 123.
[5] *Ibid.*, ch. vi, p. 124.

There is considerable difficulty in obtaining reliable information concerning the initiatory rites practised by the Yao, but there is no doubt that as the dry season approaches parties of adults go to the bush to clear a space and build huts for the novices. Boys of sixteen years of age repair to these huts carrying their sleeping mats, and there they remain in isolation for two months in charge of one or more elderly men, who conduct exhausting dances interspersed with instructions concerning tribal traditions. During this period boys are armed with sticks to keep away intruders, and at the close of the ceremonies the special huts are destroyed.

The medicine man or "rattler of tails," so-called because of his decorations, is principally responsible for giving novices detailed information anent the customs of their tribe. He points out that the selfish man who refuses to share food is laughed at as uninitiated and therefore puerile.[1] The injunction respecting sharing of food is reminiscent of instructions given to initiates in Tutu, Torres Strait, where the supervisor of novices says: "S'pose man ask for food or water, you give him half what you got. If you do, you good boy, if you no do no one like you." [2] Among the Thompson Indians, who are morally and physically the best of the Salish tribes, the youth is told "that it is bad to be inhospitable or stingy," such conduct causes neighbours to laugh and gossip.[3] Old men of the Arunta tribe throw the boys into the air. While the youth is falling he is struck with a cane wielded by an old man, possibly his maternal uncle, who shouts: "I will teach you to bring me food." [4]

Before Yao boys return to their homes, after the period

[1] Werner's "The Natives of British Central Africa," ch. vi, p. 125.

[2] "Reports of Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait," vol. v, ch. vii, p. 210.

[3] Hill-Tout's "The Natives of British North America," p. 49.

[4] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. ii, p. 343.

Dele Mask (Dele-ghost) used by the Instructor during the Initiation Ceremonies of the Bapende.

(*Photo : E. Torday.*)

Dele Mask (Dele-ghost) used by the Novice during the Initiation Ceremonies of the Bapende.

(*Photo : E. Torday.*)

of isolation and training is concluded, they receive new names, and, " henceforth it is a deadly insult to address the boy by his childish appellation." Novices sleep with unmarried men until they marry; evidently the boyish life is at an end and the fellowship of men must be sought.[1] In the Angoni nation, youths are required to render some form of communal service such as herding the cattle of the chief or serving as warriors.[2]

A most interesting feature of the general training of boys among the Ekoi people of West Africa is the part which a youth himself takes in his training and discipline. We have had to note many impositions by *external* influence, and in general the elders of the tribe are responsible for enforcing virile training and restraint. Ekoi boys have age classes, " each of which forms a self-governing community with power to watch over the conduct of its members." [3] An elder of the village is requested to be patron of a juvenile society, and should the request be granted, this elder confers on the coterie the right to beat drums and assume a distinguishing name. " The age class is then launched on its career, and its reputation depends on the energy and capabilities of its members." [4] Such an attempt at self-government is of extreme importance, for the true aim of education should be *self*-discipline; control from *external* sources is inferior in ethical value and formative influence.

The educational system of primitive man, in so far as the training of boys is concerned, evidently aims at securing group stability by setting up certain physical, mental, social, religious, and moral standards to which each individual must attain before tribal fellowship can be claimed.

Physical Education.—From the evidence adduced in the foregoing pages one may proceed to draw general conclu-

[1] Werner's " The Natives of British Central Africa," p. 126.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 128.
[3] Talbot's " In the Shadow of the Bush," p. 283.
[4] *Loc. cit.*

sions respecting the values attached to each department of instruction. As a rule, the preparation afforded in primitive societies which have been considered does not in each social unit attach equal importance to each of the main departments of training. Physical endurance is a primary qualification for admission to the adult stage, and to such requirements each individual is obliged to conform, because there is a clear recognition of the fact that at any time the existence of the social unit may depend on the physical stamina of its members. The coward who flinches from hardship and self-sacrifice is rightly regarded as a danger to the community; hence the various schemes which have been devised for testing physical reliability. With the arrangements for standardising corporal efficiency we are for the moment exclusively concerned; though it is obvious that physical tests involve a severe mental discipline which inculcates self-restraint, tenacity of purpose, and suppression of emotional tendencies.

With regard to the initiation of boys in tribes of S.E. Australia, Dr. Howitt points out that the novices are placed near to a roaring fire, from which they dare not flinch. The "kabos," or guardian instructors, take their charges forth to hunt for food, and toward evening, when the boys are thoroughly fatigued, they are led back to the clearing in order to suffer the ordeal of having their central incisor teeth knocked out with a chisel; a test which must be suffered without sign of emotion.[1] In the Urabunna tribe, the final ceremony in preparation of a youth for adult life is termed "Wilyaru," a term also applied to men who have suffered the ordeal of having cuts inflicted along each side of the spine.[2] Exhausting dances play an important part in many systems of physical training, and no doubt the boys feel

[1] Howitt's "Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," p. 527.
[2] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. i, p. 26.

YAO BOYS DIGGING OUT AND MAKING A MEAL FROM FIELD MICE.
(*Photo : A. Werner :* "British Central Africa." Constable & Co.)

some incentive to effort on account of the fact that "it is at these dances that a girl falls in love and decides which boy she will select as a husband." [1] In Samoa the supreme test of manhood is ability to withstand an elaborate operation of tattooing without sign of emotion. "Tattooing is regarded as an indispensable sign of manhood, and the practice is very rarely discontinued, notwithstanding the fact that tattooing is now mostly concealed by the cloth that the people wear." [2] Among the Shans, "a boy is considered to have reached manhood when he has been tattooed, but until he has enough courage to endure the painful and trying operation his status is that of a child." [3] The Salish Indians whipped their boys to prevent them from becoming lazy; an early morning plunge in snow-fed waters was obligatory, and at times the youth had to keep his arms immersed in icy water all night.[4]

The North American Indian boy who is approaching puberty spends days of physical hardship alone in the forest.[5] Mandan boys of the Upper Missouri were obliged to take vigorous early morning training in mimic warfare.[6] A super test of endurance which was obligatory only for individuals who had made special vows set a standard of physical endurance attained by only a few, many succumbed in the awful ordeal.[7] Boys of Indian tribes of Guiana, without showing any sign of pain, allow themselves to be sewn up in hammocks containing fire ants. The youth suffers the making of incisions in his flesh or in some other similar way indicates that the hardihood of man's estate has been reached.[8]

[1] Seligman's "Melanesians of British New Guinea," p. 257; Brown's "Melanesians and Polynesians," p. 59.
[2] Brown's "Melanesians and Polynesians," pp. 103–5.
[3] Milne's "Shans at Home," p. 60.
[4] Hill-Tout's "The Natives of British North America," p. 246.
[5] Catlin's "North American Indians," vol. i, p. 36.
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 36.
[7] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 96, and McClintock's "The Old North Trail," p. 318.
[8] im Thurn's "Among the Indians of Guiana," pp. 219–21.

Young men among the Nagas of Assam are required to give some proof of their attainment of social and physical maturity and with this custom the practice of head-hunting is now connected. "A successful predatory expedition against some neighbouring tribe was eagerly organised by young men, who had to prove their eligibility for matrimony by taking a head." The raiding expedition which one may rightly regard as an initiatory rite was connected with taboos forbidding intercourse with women.[1] A painful initiatory rite observed by the Nagas is the fixing of a bone or bamboo ring to the penis. [2] An equally painful operation is performed on boys of the Kayan tribe in Borneo.[3] A boy of the Masai tribe suffers exposure to cold on the morning of his circumcision, and during the actual operation he is expected to suppress every sign of pain.[4] Akikuyu boys dance the whole night long before the morning of circumcision so that they have to face the ordeal when thoroughly tired.[5] In like manner, the native tribes of S.E. Australia subject the novices to exhausting hunting expeditions before performing the ceremony of knocking out the teeth.[6] Novices of the Ba Thonga tribe have to run between two lines of men, who beat them with switches, and during their isolation for three months in the "yard of mystery," they are subject to blows and ill-treatment.[7] Yao boys during preparatory isolation undergo exhausting dances which are a severe test of physical stamina.[8] Fans require novices to show contempt for suffering by walking on pebbles and crushed palm nuts, or by passing naked through thorny thickets.[9]

[1] Hodson's "The Naga Tribes of Manipur," pp. 121–22.
[2] *Ibid.*, Appendix I.
[3] Hose and McDougall's "Pagan Tribes of Borneo," vol. ii, p. 170.
[4] Hollis's "The Masai," p. 296.
[5] Routledge's "With a Prehistoric People" (the Akikuyu), p. 154.
[6] Howitt's "Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," p. 527.
[7] Junod's "The Life of a South African Tribe," vol. i, p. 74.
[8] Werner's "The Natives of British Central Africa," p. 125.
[9] A. L. Cureau, "Savage Man in Central Africa," London, 1915, p. 167.

With regard to the positive side of physical training, we may say, after consideration of the foregoing points, that there is a universal desire on the part of primitive man to impose some physical suffering on the novices, who qualify for man's estate by showing stoicism and fortitude. No matter whether the boys are robbed of sleep, exercised to the point of exhaustion, suffer mutilation, are roasted by the fire, or dipped in icy water, there is the one end in view, namely, preparation for the physical hardships of primitive manhood.

The system of training is devised without sympathy for juvenile feelings; in fact, the whole procedure is calculated to repress the natural spontaneous reactions of childhood, and in their place to substitute the placidity of the adult. For marked disobedience and infringement of discipline, a death penalty may be carried out on initiates.[1] The pretence of old men of the Warramunga tribe, who threatened to roast a boy for breach of tribal law, may be regarded as a light form of reprimand.[2] Extreme severity is the general rule, but among the Kayans of Borneo physical punishment is almost unknown, and a youth is expected to learn taboos and prohibitions as a result of constant checking.[3]

1. Ethical Value of Self-denial

On the positive or active side of training there are preparations for and tests of physical fitness, while in conjunction with these may be noted a negative aspect of education. A youth of primitive society finds his dietary, speech, movements, and relations with the opposite sex determined by customs of his particular unit and locality.

[1] "Reports of Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait," vol. v, ch. vii, p. 210; Junod's "The Life of a South African Tribe," vol. i, p. 80, Neuchâtel, 1913.

[2] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. ii, p. 343.

[3] Hose and McDougall's "The Pagan Tribes of Borneo," vol. ii, pp. 164–6.

Food taboos are everywhere the rule, and for the boy who approaches puberty there exist abundant injunctions commencing with "Thou shalt not."

In the Arunta tribe of Central Australia, a youth in preparation for initiation is obliged to participate in the hunt for food which he may not eat. Delicacies which the boy himself would have enjoyed are handed over to an old man of the tribe, usually a potential father-in-law. This amiable elder, if aggrieved in respect of food supply, arranges for the novice to be thrown into the air. As the boy descends the old man strikes him with a cane, meanwhile shouting, "I will teach you to bring me food."[1] Throughout Melanesia, restrictions on certain foods are made to apply to all boys who are attaining puberty,[2] and what is more, the food has to be cooked in a special pot, which must not be large, for the abdomen of the boy might be sympathetically affected in such a way as to prevent successful dancing.[3] The boys of North American Indian tribes who went forth to the forest to dream of their "manitou," or guardian animal, suffered a fast of several days,[4] and we may note the total prohibition of food for Mandan boys in the early part of the day, when most vigorous exercise was taken.[5] Regulations respecting foods may not arise entirely from a fear that puberty is a transition which needs special precaution in order to combat malign influences, which the savage associates with any physiological crisis. There is in all probability a strictly utilitarian reason for these dietetic restrictions. In primitive society generally, and more especially among people who live by hunting, there exists a communal system for dis-

[1] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. ii, p. 343.

[2] Williamson's "The Ways of the South Sea Savage," p. 62.

[3] Seligman's "Melanesians of British New Guinea," p. 495; "Reports of Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait," vol. v, ch. vii, pp. 208–10.

[4] Catlin's "North American Indians," vol. i, p. 36.

[5] *Ibid.*

tribution of food supply, and a youth must be prepared to share his catch with his wife's relatives, to his own detriment. Tribal custom determines with some precision what parts of the animal shall be apportioned to each of the family group, according to age or prestige. The hunter himself may benefit but little by his prowess, and it is evident that the instinct of self-preservation is modified by restraints in order to make the communal system workable.

The instructor of youths in the Yao tribe of Central Africa points out that the man who refuses to share food is laughed at as uninitiated.[1] In Tutu, Torres Strait, the teacher says, " S'pose man ask you for food or water you give him half what you got." [2] The Thompson Indians thought it bad to be stingy, as such conduct causes neighbours to laugh and gossip.[3] Evidently abstinence and self-negation have a moral and utilitarian value for primitive man, who is essentially keen on the cultivation of qualities which tend toward the preservation of the unit.

2. Restriction of Friendships

Relationships of the boy with females are determined by tribal law, and he is by no means free to associate as he pleases. Should the youth be light and frivolous, or given to chattering with women, he grows up to be of no consequence in tribal council.[4] In S.E. New Guinea sexual intercourse is taboo for boys who have commenced initiation by ceremonial bathing and the taking of emetics.[5] The son of a chief at Saa suffers many restrictions, including a prohibition against visiting the sleeping place of women.[6]

[1] Werner's " Natives of British Central Africa," p. 125.
[2] " Reports of Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait," vol. v, ch. vii, p. 210.
[3] Hill-Tout's " The Natives of British North America," p. 49.
[4] Spencer and Gillen's " Across Australia," p. 26.
[5] Seligman's " Melanesians of British New Guinea," p. 495.
[6] Codrington's " The Melanesians," p. 233.

Admission to a secret society in Melanesia implies the observance of taboo. Candidates for the "Duk-Duk" society are segregated, and the youth has no opportunity for seeing any female.[1] A boy of the Roro district, immediately before puberty, is designated "ibitoe," which implies among many other restrictions that of taking up residence in the bachelors' house. The youth must not use the main street of the village; hence his opportunities for meeting females are restricted.[2] The Nagas, who adopt a youth into tribal fellowship after he has taken part in a predatory expedition, place the young man under a ban of silence, and contact with women is forbidden.[3] At the age of fifteen years Kayan boys form a party and repair to the bachelors' Club-house, there to gain useful information concerning hunting and fishing, while a virile tone is cultivated as a result of contact with adult males.[4] Of the Kamilaroi and Kurnai, it is said that "Boys remain several months in the forest visited only by old men."[5]

3. Direct Moral Instruction

The training of boys for tribal life involves something more than physical hardship and a series of prohibitions. There is usually a course of preparation which may be in greater or less degree associated with direct instruction of a civic, political, social, or moral, perhaps even of a magical or magico-religious kind.

There is in Tutu, an island of Torres Strait, a well-defined code of instructions regulating the conduct of adult men. Points which the instructor emphasises are: "You no steal," "You no lie," while obedience to elders,

[1] Brown's "Melanesians and Polynesians," p. 60.
[2] Seligman's "Melanesians of British New Guinea," p. 257.
[3] Hodson's "The Naga Tribes of Manipur," p. 121.
[4] Hose and McDougall's "The Pagan Tribes of Borneo," vol. ii, p. 164.
[5] Fison and Howitt's "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," p. 197.

hospitality, unselfishness in sharing food, and necessity for avoiding bad language are all carefully inculcated.[1] Emotional restraint may be regarded as desirable in mental and moral training, and in Torres Strait we find the novice returning to his home, after a month of seclusion, with strict injunctions that he must remain still, with downcast eyes, while his mother and other relatives accord a warm welcome. No sign of pleasure displayed by the family on his return must be reciprocated by the boy.[2] This lack of response to parental feeling does not imply any want of respect and affection for parents. During his isolation and tuition the boy is charged "to look after mother and father, never mind if you and your wife have to go without. Give half of all your fish to your parents, don't be mean."[3]

The moral code of the Thompson Indians, imparted by direct instruction, was pronounced in its opposition to stealing, adultery, lying, laziness, boasting, and cowardice. Remarks of the instructor concerning these offences usually contained a reference to the punishment of shame and disgrace which would accrue from an outraged public opinion. "People will laugh at you, will call you 'coyte,' woman, or coward," was a sentence implying the importance of public opinion, rather than recognising an intrinsic value of sound conduct.[4] In Mabuiag special attention was paid to marriage laws, which prohibited betrothal with a cousin or a comrade's sister.[5] Shan people teach their boys not to destroy life, not to steal, to commit no impure act, to avoid intoxicating drinks, to eschew slander, and on the contrary, to speak pleasant words of neighbours. They are also exhorted to make a right use of wealth.

[1] "Reports of Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait," vol. v, p. 208 *et seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 211.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 210.

[4] Hill-Tout's "The Natives of British North America," p. 157.

[5] "Reports of Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait," vol. v, pp. 208, 218.

Here there are recommendations which, carried out, would tend to make society run smoothly, quarrelling would be avoided, and sound corporate life could be developed. Throughout this Buddhistic teaching there is the strain of unselfish injunction and of self-abnegation which characterise the schemes of primitive man in general.

Ainu people of Yezo made the core of their moral instruction obedience to parents, regard for the elder brother, and reverence for the old men of the village.[1] With regard to duty toward fellow tribesmen, especially those entitled to prestige by age or relationship with the novice, the teaching of primitive man is quite lucid. An initiated boy knows whom he may legitimately marry, and he is furthermore quite clear as to the main points of integrity, honesty, consideration for the rights of others, sexual restraint, and purity which should characterise his intercourse with fellow tribesmen. According to Hose and McDougall, the training of a Kayan boy differs considerably from the general course of primitive instruction.[2]

4. Training in Magical Practices

Broadly speaking, the training given to a boy is altruistic, and there appears to be a paradox in imparting knowledge of magical methods which may be used in a strong anti-social way. The Arunta boy learns how to use a pointing bone, which, directed toward an enemy from a distance, enters his body and causes death. A magical formula: "May your heart be torn asunder," or something equally unpleasant, is the operating spell. The youth is shown how to track an enemy to death by the use of special "Kurdaitcha" shoes and the assistance of a medicine man. A more legitimate use of magic refers to the charming of a woman.[3]

[1] Batchelor's "The Ainus of Japan," p. 109.
[2] Hose and McDougall's "The Pagan Tribes of Borneo," vol. ii, p. 168.
[3] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. ii, p. 346.

The " Iniat " secret society of Melanesia claims the power to render novices magically potent by causing friendly spirits to enter their bodies. In addition to this, they are shown how to encompass the destruction of a foe by placing a shred of his clothing in a hole covered with a heavy stone, over which a suitable incantation is recited.[1] The general impression of the reader is that, whereas the usual initiation of a youth into tribal fellowship is a social function, his reception into a secret society is strongly anti-social. The main objects of the latter society appear to be exploitation of non-members of that particular community; though one should note that in admission to a secret society there is a salutary discipline tending to establish self-control, endurance, and self-denial.

A North American Indian boy at the age of fourteen or fifteen years is said to be " making medicine." In other words, he has retired to the solitude of the forest, there to dream of, subsequently to kill, his private totemic animal, whose relics are carried in a " medicine bag " during the remainder of life. At death the bag which is charged with magic, attributed to the spiritual power of the deceased guardian animal, is lowered into the grave.[2] A boy of Tutu completes his period of seclusion, at the end of which time he is taught the use of " girl medicine," a preparation with which he anoints himself in order to attract the opposite sex.[3]

5. Religious Element in Training

When dealing with initiation rites of the Yuin and other tribes of S.E. Australia Dr. Howitt calls attention to the aborigines' regard for a deity named Daramulun, who

[1] Brown's " Melanesians and Polynesians," p. 72.
[2] Catlin's " North American Indians," vol. i, p. 36.
[3] " Reports of Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait," vol. v, p. 211.

lives beyond the sky. At a point in the ceremonies novices were led to the tree on which a figure of the god had been carved. The "kabos" inform novices that Daramulun watches the actions of tribesmen and is incensed at any breach of tribal law respecting exogamy, theft, or incest. It is said "that when a man dies Daramulun meets him and takes care of him." The deity taught the tribal ancestors the use of weapons, and to him the medicine men owe their skill. Daramulun is represented as the law-giver of the tribe, and to impress his importance, it is stated that he can go everywhere and perform superhuman feats of skill and strength.[1]

Melanesian boys who are in course of training for the secret "Iniat" society are taught how to pray to the spirits of fighting men who in days gone by were credited with magical power.[2]

Prayers offered to the spirits of fighting men, also to deceased relations, for example, a father, brother, or uncle, ask that the senses of the enemy may be made less acute, so that he may readily fall a victim. Each night, at a hut specially reserved for the purpose, also during the day near the village boundary, these prayers are rehearsed. Whether the words spoken are prayer or spell is not a matter of debate at the moment, the chief point of interest is the instruction of boys in methods of seeking aid from non-material powers, in whose existence and efficacy the savage has unwavering faith.[3]

Ainu boys are taught how to make "inao" and "nusa" offerings to the gods. These offerings at times take the form of slender rods, with shavings attached to the tops, placed round a dwelling.[4]

At a point in the education of a Kayan youth the ceremony

[1] Howitt's "Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," p. 542.
[2] Brown's "Melanesians and Polynesians," pp. 81, 87.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 87.
[4] Batchelor's "The Ainus of Japan," p. 109.

of " striking at heads " is performed, and it is interesting to note the sacrifice of a fowl, the blood of which is used for smearing a bracelet worn by each boy. This participation in blood sacrifice probably indicates that the novices have unity of purpose; all are striving to achieve the state of manhood. A sacramental meal of scorched rice serves as an additional symbol that each of the youths who partake is entering on a new phase of life. Thus the rite, marking an advance toward manhood, is characterised by sacrifice and sacrament, two elements of procedure in the majority of religious exercises.[1] Codrington refers to the initiation of boys in Melanesia, and at Saa there appears to be a specialised training in fishing in order to give the boys magical power " saka," which enables them to become successful fishermen. In this instance, the magical power, forming a necessary equipment for manhood, is conferred by seclusion and practice fishing for the bonito fish. Codrington remarks that: " First of all there was a sacrifice to purify the boys." [2] Evidently the magical power of " saka " was not to be thoughtlessly or irreverently acquired; the novice was taught that sacred matters must be approached with caution. Magical power may be acquired by novices to injure an enemy or to charm a woman, and in this instance there is the striving for non-human aid, which will assist in self-preservation by securing a food supply.

6. Morality and Etiquette

Training in social morality which deals primarily with marriage laws, adultery, incest, theft, and slander has a lighter aspect concerned with the inculcation of good manners, and at this point primitive man is punctilious in deciding the degree of respect which must be shown by a junior to a senior.

[1] Hose and McDougall's " The Pagan Tribes of Borneo," vol. ii, p. 168.
[2] Codrington's " The Melanesians," p. 233.

Hindus teach their boys how to behave to members of various castes, the salaam is appropriately elaborated for the twice born, and custom decides what degree of respect should be shown to a senior.[1] The Ainu do not neglect the teaching of good manners and refined behaviour. A boy is instructed in the proper manner of making a call, and no detail is considered unworthy of notice.[2]

We have in general noted respect required for parents and elders, and on this point the training of boys was found to be emphatic. Universal respect for old men, likewise for the maternal uncle, is a point worthy of further elaboration.

7. Importance of Tribal Elders

Among all Australian tribes the old men are of great importance as law-givers, masters of totemic and initiatory ceremonies, and guardians of bull roarers, churinga, or other sacred objects. These elders are repositories of tribal tradition, and what is more, they have special power or virtue which, after a whirling dance, is communicated to the novices.[3] The Bechuana teacher says: "I give you manhood, my own manhood."[4]

Old men demand the choicest foods collected by the boy,[5] and again a youth who has committed a breach of tribal law is corrected by tribal elders.[6] The manner in which patriarchs of the tribe usurp the responsibilities of paternal and domestic training is partially accounted for by the great importance of communal interests as opposed to those of the clan or family unit. A boy whose training depended on the father or paternal uncle would naturally arrive at

[1] Crooke's "Natives of Northern India," p. 177.
[2] Batchelor's "The Ainus of Japan," p. 109.
[3] Howitt's "Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," p. 535.
[4] J. T. Brown, "Circumcision Rites of Bechuana Tribes," *J.A.I.*, 1921, p. 423.
[5] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. ii, p. 343.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 383.

maturity with the idea that interests affecting his family compound were of primary importance, domestic training alone would narrow his outlook and militate against unity of the larger group. A youth deprived of communal training in a school where general interests take precedence might be likely to develop into a self-centred individual without capacity or power for self-denial in the interest of the group to which he belonged. Old men of the Elema tribes, S.E. New Guinea, are in regular daily attendance at the compound where novices are receiving instruction in the art of making belts and anklets.[1] In Ainu society there is an exception to the general rule concerning employment of old men as instructors. The Ainu father makes himself responsible for the physical, mental, and moral training of his sons, but in addition to imparting a utilitarian knowledge of hunting, fishing, and topography, the boy is taught reverence for old men.[2]

Masai boys have to show respect for warriors, to whom they dare not speak. These boys are beaten and harshly treated. Their only protection against a thrashing is the plucking of a handful of grass. The Masai boy salutes an elder, wishing him long life, and the old man spits in acknowledgment.[3] Old men of the Kayan tribes of Borneo give instruction in single combat.[4] Older men, also the boy's father, are responsible for taking the young Kayan to the jungle, where he is taught the hunter's craft;[5] a similar custom prevails among the Veddas of Ceylon.[6] Self-disciplined societies of the Ekoi have an elder as patron, and from him the organisation of boys receives a name and the right to beat drums.

[1] Seligman's "Melanesians of British New Guinea," p. 268.
[2] Batchelor's "The Ainus of Japan," p. 109.
[3] Hollis's "The Masai," p. 316.
[4] Hose and McDougall's "The Pagan Tribes of Borneo," vol. ii, p. 164.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 164–6.
[6] Seligman and Seligman's "The Veddas of Ceylon," p. 91.

8. Importance of the Maternal Uncle

The maternal uncle is an individual who claims respect, which may be due to his position in a one time matriarchal society. In Tutu, initiation begins with the commencement of the N.W. monsoon, at which time a father is expected to relinquish his son for tutelage at the hands of the boy's maternal uncle, who takes full charge of the youth until the rite of initiation is complete.[1] After social and moral instruction has been given a novice remains in charge of the maternal uncle for a period of three months, during which a marriage is arranged. When the betrothal is made and the period of tuition is ended, the maternal uncle is responsible for returning the youth to his parents. When a boy of the Makeo District, S.E. New Guinea, assumes the perineal band, the event is publicly recognised by a feast given by the father to the boy's maternal uncle, who, in his own house, puts on the perineal band.[2]

9. Psychology of Primitive Education

During the training of boys for tribal life, primitive tutors show themselves to be good psychologists who know how to turn to account the boy's natural tendencies. Instructors have recognised the importance of sending their charges forth with a strong and decided initiative which, according to Professor W. James and common experience, is an essential feature of success.[3]

10. Factors of Silence and Seclusion

The main points in this launching forth have to some extent been dealt with in descriptions of initiation ceremonies, made impressive by seclusion and secretiveness,

[1] "Reports of Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait, vol. v, ch. vii, pp. 208, 212.

[2] Williamson's "The Ways of a South Sea Savage," p. 116.

[3] James's "Talks on Psychology," p. 68.

physical trials, moral and social instruction, likewise by cleansing or anointing the novices, or by the employment of decorative paints and personal ornaments.

Seclusion and secrecy may be said to be universal during puberty rites, also at the time of admission to privileged societies which have a disciplinary effect on novices. In S.E. Australia the initiation ground or "Bunan" is removed from the main camp, and enclosed by a high embankment.[1] Furthermore, boys usually retire to the bush for instruction. Here they remain in charge of tutors until their education is complete.[2] For the boys of Tutu a special clearing is made in the forest close to ancient trees, which are decorated with the bones of turtles and the barbs of dugong harpoons belonging to famous hunters.[3]

In S.E. New Guinea boys have to retire to the bush to make a drum; novices may not use the main street of their village, and there is every effort made to impress the fact that the attainment of man's estate is separated from the days of boyhood by an unbridged gulf.[4] People of the Elema tribes take their boys for collective initiation at the age of ten years, when all are painted red, and secluded from the general community, during the hours of daylight, for a period of two months.[5] At Waiama, the seclusion of boys who have attained the age of puberty lasts a year, during which four dancing ceremonies are held.[6] The Indian boy of North America must mark the advent of puberty by retiring to the seclusion of the forest, there to dream of his "manitou,"[7] a custom dealt with at some length by Catlin.[8] Youths of the Ba Thonga

[1] Howitt's "Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," p. 519.
[2] Fison and Howitt's "Kamilaroi and Kurnai," pp. 197–8.
[3] "Reports of Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait," vol. v, ch. vii, p. 208.
[4] Seligman's "Melanesians of British New Guinea," p. 257.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 261. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 263.
[7] Hill-Tout's "The Natives of British North America," p. 247.
[8] Catlin's "North American Indians," vol. i, p. 36.

tribe who have been circumcised have to endure a period of three months in the so-called "yard of mystery," where hunger and ill-treatment are suffered.[1] According to Werner, the first indication of approaching initiatory rites among the Yao is the making of huts in a special clearing right away from the village community. Here the novices have to remain in seclusion for two months.[2]

This enforced seclusion naturally makes the transition to manhood very impressive, it likewise assists in taking the boy away from juvenile games, in place of which solitude and enforced immobility will lead him to think of the duties of tribal life. Moral precepts and tribal laws inculcated during seclusion have opportunities for fixation, which would not be likely to take place if the youth was allowed to run to the village immediately after instruction. Seclusion keeps him away from the influence of females, who, even in case of a mother, are regarded as detrimental to the development of virile qualities. As a further reason for the seclusion, one may adduce the general fear of primitive man for physiological changes involved in attainment of puberty. The youth is "taboo" on account of the physical crisis which renders him a possible source of danger to his social unit. In addition to these points, it is important to recognise the probability of a special and peculiar origin of the enforced silence, which has been dealt with at the beginning of this chapter in connection with the "rebirth" aspect of initiation.

Symbolic Acts

Other factors calculated to make the ceremony of initiation impressive are decoration of the boys themselves, also some form of cleansing and anointing as a symbol of making a clean start in life. The principal actors in the

[1] Junod's "The Life of a South African Tribe," vol. i, p. 74.
[2] Werner's "Natives of British Central Africa," p. 125.

rite are usually grotesquely ornamented so as to strike fear into the novices, who are obviously impressed with the hideous appearance of naked painted figures gyrating wildly.

The " gommera," who knock out the teeth of Australian novices, are covered only with charcoal, while the lips are drawn back to make the appearance as hideous as possible. The boy himself is painted with stripes of white.[1] In Tutu the novice is rubbed each day with soot made from the burnt shell of the coconut.[2] In the Elema tribes of S.E. New Guinea novices are painted red before their seclusion.[3] Masai boys who are ready for circumcision assume a coat of white chalk.[4] Apparently primitive man has no colour which may be generally regarded as symbolical of puberty, for in various parts of the world red, white, or black is favoured. Boys in the neighbourhood of Bartle Bay, S.E. New Guinea, have, at the commencement of initiation, a physical purging which is symbolical of a clean start in manhood. At the end of a period of seclusion boys anoint themselves with oil and return to the village with faces painted black and red.[5] At the ceremony of striking at heads, a procedure which marks transition to manhood, the Kayan boy has to take a ceremonial swim, during which a garland, that previously decorated the head of an enemy, is waved over him, possibly to impart virtue from the fallen foe.[6] On the morning of his circumcision the Masai boy has to wash himself in water in which a fern has been soaked.[7] Cuts are made on the bodies of the North American Indians, after which they resort to the

[1] Howitt's " Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," pp. 524, 540.
[2] " Reports of Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait," vol. v, ch. vii, p. 208.
[3] Seligman's " Melanesians of British New Guinea," p. 261.
[4] Hollis's " The Masai," p. 296.
[5] Seligman's " Melanesians of British New Guinea," p. 495.
[6] Hose and McDougall's " The Pagan Tribes of Borneo," vol. ii, p. 170.
[7] Hollis's " The Masai," p. 296.

sweat bath in order to symbolise a discarding of all impurity.[1]

The close of initiation and attendant seclusion is marked by a grand finale, possibly in the form of a feast, dancing, or public oratory. Among the Elema tribes the period of seclusion for novices is celebrated by a dance and feast, after which the chief mounts a platform and announces that the initiation has been successfully completed. Henceforth, the boys are to be regarded as men.[2] A feast celebrates the conclusion of initiation in the island of Tutu.[3] Assumption of the perineal band by boys of the Mekeo area is sufficient cause for a public feast.[4] In the case of Ba Thonga Boys who have been in seclusion for a period of three months, there is a final ovation from the tutor who says, " Try now to behave like men." [5] The Yao boy, on completion of training, receives a new name, which must always be used in future.[6] Seligman points out that a Roro boy who receives the name " ibitoe " just before puberty is expected to devote less time to childish games.[7] The instructor in Tutu says to his charges: " You no play with small canoe or with toy spear, that all finish now, you no play with boy and girl now, you a man and no boy." [8] Old men who have charge of novices in the Yuin tribe of S.E. Australia try to make their teaching impressive by stating exactly the opposite from that which they wish the boy to do. The instruction is then negatived by a

[1] Bancroft, " Native Races of the Pacific States," London, 1875, vol. i, p. 395 ; vol. iii, p. 159.

[2] Seligman's " Melanesians of British New Guinea," p. 261.

[3] " Reports of Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait," vol. v, ch. vii, p. 211.

[4] Seligman's " Melanesians of British New Guinea," p. 268.

[5] Junod's " The Life of a South African Tribe," vol. i, p. 80.

[6] Werner's " The Natives of British Central Africa," p. 126.

[7] Seligman's " Melanesians of British New Guinea," p. 257.

[8] " Reports of Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait," vol. v, p. 210.

loud exclamation, "Yah," meaning "No," or "Do not." Thus the tutor says, "You go back to camp and play with little children, Yah!" by which he means that intercourse with juveniles must be at an end.[1]

Summary and General Conclusions

We have had to note at various points the manner in which physical, social, and moral instruction is given so that the youth may be a useful member of his social unit, and a source of strength and solidarity. There is in addition to the training, which must be regarded primarily as a benefit to the community, an element which assists the individual himself in daily life.

Spencer and Gillen point out that natives of Central Australia have no knowledge of agriculture, neither is any effort made to lay by a store of food for use when nourishment is scarce. The native lives from hand to mouth without any thought of the morrow. When food is abundant he eats to repletion without anxiety for the future. On the contrary, should there be a scarcity of food he accepts such a condition with philosophical content, and waits with resignation until food can be found. "There are, of course, times when he is hard pressed and during a long continuance of drought his life is not a happy one; in fact he is absolutely at the mercy of his surroundings. Fortunately his very lack of power to control nature has been the means of sharpening his power of observation, and he can obtain food and water in comparative abundance in places where a civilised man would die of thirst and starvation."[2] Food taboos, hunting expeditions in charge of instructors, the endurance of hunger, thirst, and want of sleep, patient endurance of pain, all of which are the ordinary experience of a novice during initiation, have a deeper

[1] Howitt's "Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," p. 533.
[2] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. i, p. 197.

significance when considered in conjunction with the remarks of Spencer and Gillen concerning the precarious life of a hunter.

A custom prevalent among some of the Victorian tribes safeguards society and is of direct benefit to the individual. The old men of the tribes concerned wish to satisfy themselves that the novice is able to support the girl whom he intends to marry. To put this point to the test the youth is required to bring to the initiation ceremony a living opossum, which he carries in a bag round his neck. Compliance with this custom is regarded as satisfactory proof that the boy is a skilled hunter. Evidently the strictly utilitarian aspect of his training is held to be important.[1] At the island of Saa there is a training in the art of fishing for which a peculiar power "saka" is essential to success. Each morning the novices are taken out in a canoe until each has proved himself capable of catching a bonito fish.[2] Boys of New Guinea learn to make drums and personal ornaments during initiation.[3] The early morning training of Mandan warriors is of direct personal advantage to the individuals concerned,[4] and the hardening of boys in Salish tribes helps individuals to retain possession of wives or other property which might by tribal custom be taken away from the lawful owner by the victor in a wrestling bout.[5] The early training of young boys of the Shan States is directly useful in later life. At dawn small boys take charge of herds of buffaloes, which they fearlessly ride to the river. There the animals are looked after during the whole day by these youths, who are responsible for bringing the cattle back to the village at sunset.[6] Batchelor says of Ainu boys: "Next

[1] Howitt's "Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," p. 610.
[2] Codrington's "The Melanesians," p. 233.
[3] Seligman's "Melanesians of British New Guinea," p. 257.
[4] Catlin's "North American Indians," vol. i, p. 36.
[5] Hill-Tout's "The Natives of British North America," p. 157.
[6] Milne's "The Shans at Home," p. 44.

Sakai Boy with Blow-pipe (S. Perak.)

(W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden : "Pagan Tribes of the Malay Peninsula.")

FATHER TRAINING HIS SONS IN THE USE OF THE BLOW-PIPE: SAKAI TRIBE, BIDOR, MALAY PENINSULA.

(W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden: "Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula."

they were taught the names and shapes of certain hills and mountains, the names and courses of the chief rivers and streams, so that they might not get lost when out on a hunting expedition." In addition to this very useful topographical knowledge, every youth was taught the usual methods of hunting and fishing. He knew how to make bows and arrows, also how to set spring bows in the trail of animals. To a few chosen pupils the secret of making poisons, used in the destruction of animals, was communicated when an adult stage was reached.[1]

Utilitarian training naturally differs with special tribal requirements which may relate to hunting, fishing, or agriculture. A Kayan boy is taken, not only to the forest on hunting expeditions, but, in addition to this, he receives a useful training on the padi farms, where he is taught the routine of sowing, reaping, and garnering. Employment of the boy for scaring birds marks his first contact with agricultural work.[2]

A consideration of evidence adduced with regard to the training of boys for tribal life reveals an idealism and a power of psychological analysis, combined with practical pedagogics which do credit to the intelligence of primitive man and the ancient civilisations from which he borrowed his culture.

First and foremost, tribal elders have considered stability of the social group when arranging courses of instruction and training. Sanctity of custom has decided that prescribed rules of conduct with regard to marriage, reverence for what is sacred, and dealings with fellow tribesmen shall be followed with precision. Hence the primary object of the training is a standardising of boys, who are expected suddenly to break away from the standards of childhood for the purpose of adopting criteria of manhood. Of these

[1] Batchelor's "The Ainus of Japan," p. 109.
[2] Hose and McDougall's "The Pagan Tribes of Borneo," vol. ii, p. 163.

criteria obedience to tribal law is paramount, therefore special stress is placed upon the inculcation of precepts which are held to have been derived from ancestors of a remote period.

The inflexibility of communal traditions is probably thought to lead to a direct preservation of the unit, for breach of law by one who is initiated is regarded as a most serious offence, because of the possible suffering which it may cause to the social group. A feeling that breach of tradition will end in disaster for the tribe is always present, though not always verbally expressed.

Novices are taught the necessity for avoiding both sins and crimes. The former include all abrogations of tribal tradition respecting marriage, the approach of sacred places or objects, the use of prayers and formulæ for seeking the aid of non-human powers, while the latter have a direct reference to duty toward a neighbour, usually a neighbour within the novice's own unit. It is toward the extension of this ethical code that the social reformer should tactfully work.

While speaking in general terms, one may say that sins are regarded as extremely serious because of the danger involved to the community, while crimes merely unsettle the stability of the group by causing dissension and blood feuds. A woman who sees the "churinga," or sacred objects of Australian tribes, or a Toda of Southern India who violates the sanctity of the dairy, has committed a sin which may bring suffering on the community in general. The act of a person who commits murder, steals property, or is guilty of adultery is provocative of unrest within the tribe, whose united front is at all times necessary in the competition of inter-tribal warfare.

Consequently we find that, during the period of initiatory seclusion, a boy is taught reverence for what is sacred, and he is specially instructed in the approach of non-human

Sakai Boy explaining the Action of a Trap.

(W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden : "Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula.")

powers. At the same time, he is taught by direct instruction not to lie, steal, or damage the property of a fellow tribesman. The instruction given aims primarily at securing safety and stability of a social kind.

One might be led to suppose that the needs of individuals are somewhat neglected. Certainly the community has first claim respecting the moulding of a boy's thought and conduct, but in spite of the supremacy of group requirements training and instruction are of direct personal benefit. Each youth is physically standardised so that his hardness, endurance, and prowess as a hunter and fighter ensure his ability to maintain his own life, likewise the lives of his wife, children, father-in-law, or other persons selected by tribal custom as his *protégés*.

The moral and physical training is in every way adapted to the needs of primitive society, but in the inflexibility of custom one may discern a possible cause of disintegration. For is it not an axiom of nature that vigorous and prolonged existence, whether in the plant or animal kingdom, shall depend on powers of ready adaptation to a changing environment? Immobility and irresponsiveness have, as a rule, implied atrophy and death. The work of missionaries and Government Departments is wholly concerned with the problem of adaptation to new conditions.

On the whole the ideals of primitive man's educational system for boys are good, in the sense that they are well adapted to special conditions. There is also necessity to recognise the display of much ability in the choice of method, the rigour of which is justified by the laxity of parental discipline and absolute freedom enjoyed during the early years of primitive childhood.

Tribal elders are well aware that they have to deal with youths of a healthy, hardy type; and in directing the reactions native to such boyhood into channels of conduct which shall appropriately express the dignity of manhood

and tribal responsibility, the old men have shown themselves to be competent, not merely as idealists, but as practical pedagogues. Nor are young men so jealous of prerogative as investigators have at times supposed.[1]

Details already considered illustrate methods chosen in order to appeal to the boy's natural qualities. Ceremonies are shrouded in mystery; the chief participants, including the novices themselves, are excessively decorated, usually to a point where recognition becomes impossible. This is probably to make the rebirth more complete. Fear and vague apprehension of the future attune the hitherto thoughtless and irresponsible mind for reception of tribal law, observance of which implies life and prosperity, while abrogation spells death. The youth is kept on the tiptoe of expectation with faculties alert, and solitude has the effect of keeping his juvenile mind from distracting rival thoughts and actions which might negative the doctrines that elders are striving to impart.

Physically the novice has proved himself to be efficient, the nature of sins and crimes has been explained in a practical way with repeated admonitions and illustrations. Seclusion in the society of elders has given dignity combined with consciousness of responsible manhood. Possibly a betrothal has been arranged and a new name given as a final act in the great drama of puberty rites. The new man is publicly presented, so that he may be launched forth with impressive initiative in the form of feasting, dancing, and oration.[2]

In fact, the primitive conception of puberty is succinctly expressed by Cureau, who says: "The awakening of reproductive function is considered by the African negro

[1] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. ii, p. 263.

[2] (*a*) Hastings' "Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics," vol. vii, p. 315; (*b*) John Mathew, "Eaglehawk and Crow," London and Melbourne, 1899, pp. 65, 101, 113, 116, 118; (*c*) Hutton Webster, "Primitive Secret Societies," New York, 1908, pp. 20, 32, 50.

as a new birth, the dawning of a personality distinct from that of childhood. Up to that time the boy is regarded as blended with his father's existence, but after puberty he becomes a new individual. In a general way, the natives hold that every serious event in physical life is equivalent to death followed by resurrection." [1]

[1] Cureau's "Savage Man in Central Africa," p. 167.

CHAPTER III

THE TRAINING OF BOYS FOR SPECIALISED FUNCTIONS IN TRIBAL LIFE

Historical Introduction.—Training as Medicine Men.—Recent Research in Morbid Psychology and the Bearing of this on the Mentality of the Medicine Man.—The Vocational "Call."—Solitude and Contact with Spirit Helpers.—Tuition in Technique and Transfer of Psychic Power.—Observance of Taboos.—Disparate Status of Medicine-men.—Puberty Rites Compared with Inception of Medicine Men.—Social and Anti-social Functions of Medicine Men.—Neurological Aspect of Initiation.—Specialised Training in Priestcraft.—Specialised Training in Handicraft.—Training of the Sons of Chiefs.

Historical Introduction.—Consideration of types of initiation reveals clearly the existence of two main varieties, a highly specialised form conferring exceptional privilege, and a common variety bestowing tribal fellowship. The evidence suggests that there has been a borrowing of ritual or possibly a common origin.

Of the special initiatory rites those relating to inception of priests and priestesses, medicine men, chiefs, and members of secret societies are most important in their unity of purpose and method, which strongly suggests development from a common fund of ideas. Tribal initiation of boys and girls will be shown to have a relation to the specialised inaugural training of leaders of social and religious thought, but each has become enriched by contact with its contemporary.

The origin, antiquity, and interdependence of special and common initiation is best revealed by consideration of the main factors of inaugural ceremonies. The two oldest

rites of which we have definite anatomical and archæological evidence are those of circumcision and tattooing or some other form of body-marking such as painting or scarifying. These practices are indispensable in tribal initiation, which is undertaken at puberty and is therefore of the nature of a fertility rite. Circumcision of boys was practised in Egypt as early as 3600 B.C., as shown by anatomical material from Naga-ed-der, and archæological evidence from reliefs in a tomb of the VI Dynasty at Sakkarah (2600 B.C.).

Body-marking of women by paint and tattoo was a prehistoric practice of Palæolithic Europe and early Dynastic Egypt, performed in conjunction with fertility rites, if one may judge by the number and nature of female figures so treated.[1] The earliest dateable evidence of puncture tattoo comes from Egypt, where lozenge-shaped patterns on mummified skin correspond with marks on a doll of female form buried therewith. This evidence, dated 2000 B.C., was preceded by the discovery of female figurines marked with zigzag patterns and antelopes, while in the second dynasty bone female figures marked with numerous circular dark patches of paint or tattoo were in use.[2] Tattooing of women at puberty with elaborate ceremonial and precaution is a well-established and world-wide custom indispensable to marriage and tribal fellowship. Painting of both sexes is common and in some areas, notably Africa, Andaman Islands, and Australia, scarification is another form of body-marking commonly found at pubertal ceremonies. As tattooing appears to be originally a rite for females, as indicated by (1) archæological evidence from Egypt, where only *female* figurines are tattooed or painted, and (2) the preponderating importance of present-day

[1] Budge's "Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection," vol. ii, p. 229; Petrie and Quibell's, "Naquada and Ballas," London, 1896, plate 59, pp. 34, 45, 63.

[2] Smith's "Ancient Egyptians and the Origin of Civilization," p. 62; Figs. 32141, 32144, Egyptian Galleries, Brit. Museum.

tattooing of women at puberty, I suggest that the body-marking rite has been transferred from girls to boys. In Borneo, women observe detailed ritual of tattoo, men none.[1] Circumcision, on the contrary, is shown by the oldest anatomical and archæological evidence to be a custom practised on males, as Budge suggests, as an offering to gods of virility or generation. There is no anatomical evidence to suggest that a similar rite was practised on girls in the archaic civilisation of Egypt. Dressing of Nandi girls as boys before circumcision may imply a transfer of the rite from males to females. But there is the difficulty that boys dress like girls for the ceremony.[2]

Two main factors of tribal initiation may in this way be partially explained in their historical, social, and psychological relations. But in considering special initiation of chiefs, priests, and medicine men we have to deal with a kind of evidence which depends for its elucidation on survival of custom rather than on archæological or anatomical support.

The pivotal interest turns upon acquisition of peculiar power which is transmissible from gods and spirits to men and their progeny. Hence kingship, priesthood, and office of medicine men are hereditary, but a period of preparation is enforced. As subsidiary factors of this acquisition of power by heredity and initiation there are questions relating to rebirth, change of name, purification, exercise of magic, and some form of tuition in performance of rites relating to magic and religion, with acquisition of tribal lore, genealogies, and codes of morality. In dealing with ordinary tribal initiation in Chapters II and IV one may show that all of the above factors, which primarily relate to special initiation, have in some measure been acquired by commoners. Hence highly specialised practices form

[1] Hose and McDougall's "The Pagan Tribes of Borneo," vol. i, p. 245 *et seq.*
[2] Hollis's "The Nandi," 1909, p. 57.

an addition to acts of circumcision and body-marking which seem to be the original prehistoric rites of fertility cults.

A few instances of acquisition of special power and social status will serve as an introduction to the more detailed survey of these factors contained in the present chapter. Among the Koro sea tribes of Fiji installation of a new chief is typical of death and rebirth. There is kava drinking which endows a man with a spirit of god. The chief is nursed for four nights in the lap of the elders, and his feet are not allowed to touch the ground. Human sacrifice is also a factor of these rites. Fijian chiefs are representatives of ancestor gods and the chief dies in order to be reborn as a god. In giving this information, A. M. Hocart draws parallels from India and Tahiti.[1]

In Hawaii, the highest chiefs were sacred and officiated as priests, of whom there were many orders and sub-orders. The great high priest kept the national war god and was in close relations with him. Other priests perpetuated traditions, medical and astronomical knowledge, designated human victims for sacrifice, officiated in public and private worship, and exorcised demons.[2] W. Ellis says that in these islands priests of the national temples were a distinct class and that the office of priesthood was hereditary in all its departments. In a village, the chief of the community was priest. The king was sometimes priest for the whole nation and the highest sacerdotal dignity was often possessed by some member of the reigning family. The king personified a god and received temple offerings and prayers of suppliants. Images of gods were used to transfer power to feathers contained within them, and these were then distributed to worshippers. New gods were placed by old for transfer of power and in each case of acquired power the prayers of priests were necessary.[3]

[1] *Ceylon Journal of Science*, July 1924, p. 27.
[2] W. F. Blackman, "The Making of Hawaii," 1899, p. 35.
[3] "Polynesian Researches," 1834, vol. i, pp. 339, 342.

In Tonga, only those inspired by some particular god could act as priests. It most frequently happened that the eldest son of a priest, after his father's death, became a priest of the same god who inspired his father. During times of inspiration, periods of calm were followed by paroxysm and prophecy.[1]

The following pages show the manner in which boys and girls have been dedicated to temple service where residence is accompanied by austerities, privations, and acquisition of knowledge. Codrington shows that in Saa the son of a chief had to undergo an initiation more severe than that required for ordinary boys. The seclusion was extended and the youth acquired "saka," an undefined power, by fishing for bonito. Another section of this chapter explains how power is transferred to new medicine men by sleeping in caves inhabited by tutelary spirits (Arunta), rubbing with crystals (Yuin), stabbing with a knife previously used to cut the instructor (Chukchee), and like cases.[2]

Now with regard to this transfer of power, the dual function of kingship and priestcraft, rebirth, renaming, human sacrifice, and magical practices, we can take either of two main points of view. G. Landtman would have us believe that "Priesthood, broadly speaking, owes its origin to the universal need felt by mankind of superhuman assistance in the struggle for life."[3] This helps us not at all in explaining the presence of persistent acts of a very peculiar and specialised nature. I agree with the historical school in thinking that the main concern of sociology is a study of the origin and migration of institutions. Writers may not agree as to the place of origin and lines of dispersal, while there is always opportunity for controversy in

[1] Mariner, "Account of Natives of Tonga Islands," 1817, vol. i, p. 107; vol. ii, p. 145.

[2] This work, chap. iii, p. 264.

[3] "Origin of Priesthood," Finland, 1905, p. 22.

MEDICINE MAN OF THE ORUNCHA

(Sir Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen : "Across Australia.")

determining what are and what are not parallel and comparable practices. This latter point does not arise in the present discussion. Throughout Polynesia, alliance between gods, kings, and priests, even the identity of the three functions, is unmistakable. The factors of transfer of power to novices, rebirth, and use of magic for specific purposes of healing, rain-making, or injuring an enemy are strictly comparable and easily recognisable wherever they occur.

The most ancient records extant which can throw any light on the possible origin of the peculiar aspects of initiation under discussion, are those from the early dynastic civilisation of Egypt. Budge shows that kings were the lineal descendants of Horus, Son of Osiris, who was conceived and brought forth by Isis after the death of her husband. Therefore Osiris and Isis were the ancestors of kings whose divine origin accounted for their absolute powers.[1] Isis formulated a code of laws which provided wholesome punishments for wild and violent men and by the IV and V Dynasties the well-defined "Precepts of Kaquemna and Ptah-hetep" show the existence of a moral code which along with the repudiation of sins, known as the "Negative Confession," embody all the important points communicated during initiation ceremonies.[2] These relate chiefly to obedience to parents, purity, hospitality, and integrity of conduct especially with regard to theft and lying. Priesthood in Egypt involved abstention from meats, fasting, habits of self-denial, and continence.[3] Even down to the Ptolemaic period the priests accepted with absolute faith the observances which Osirian traditions imposed upon them, and carried these out with the most scrupulous care even in the smallest detail. The office of

[1] Budge's "Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection," vol. ii, p. 273; W. J. Perry, "The Origin of Magic and Religion," 1923, pp. 44, 193.

[2] Budge, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 31, 271, 293.

[3] Petrie's "Social Life in Ancient Egypt," 1923, p. 120.

priesthood was hereditary because of the training required for rites, inculcation of habits of respect in the populace, and riches of endowment. In the colleges of the priests young men studied magical and religious texts, several "Books of the Dead," the doctrines of cosmogony, and the histories and legends of the gods.[1] Presentation of a royal child to Amen Ra and the Company of the Gods was an Egyptian practice which may well have been the prototype of similar ceremonies which have been collated in Chapter I dealing with maternity and child welfare.[2] Polynesian kingship and priesthood bear a strong resemblance to their Egyptian precursors, nor is the ceremony of dedicating the royal child absent. In Hawaii, the child of a king or chief of high rank was soon after birth taken to the temple and delivered to a priest. Sacred implements of war, regarded as emblems of greatness, were placed on the pavement and the infant was bathed while the sacred knife or sting-ray bone was laid on it. Priests offered over the infant a prayer of life to the tutelar god of the island. A surgical operation followed and the child was kept in a tent of sacred cloth, "to indicate that it was admitted to the society of the gods and exalted above ordinary men." During this time the infant remained at the Marae and kindling of fire, launching of a canoe and beating of cloth were prohibited on pain of death.[3] The dedication of infants, along with other aspects of specialised initiation, have in a measure become common by transfer of royal and sacerdotal rites to children experiencing initiation of the tribal type.

From Egypt there is good evidence that a transfer of power was made from a sacred image to the king. The king, being god, never died, though he might, if decrepit,

[1] Budge's "Guide to Egyptian Collections in British Museum," p. 79.

[2] J. H. Breasted, "Ancient Records of Egypt," 1907, vol. ii, pars. 217, 220.

[3] Ellis's "Polynesian Researches," vol. i, p. 259.

be sacrified to rejuvenate his land and people. This immortality was due to possession of the "fluid of life," "sa-en-ankh," which he obtained from Ra before his birth, for the god was believed to become incarnate from time to time, and to consort with queen after queen, so that his son might always sit on the throne of Egypt. The statues of Ra being inhabited by his doubles were endowed with the fluid of life, and this they transmitted to their human counterpart the king, by resting their hands upon his head, or by drawing them over the back of his head and down his back. The king performed the ceremonies of the divine cult daily and as a result he drew from the god each day a new supply of the fluid of life which justified him in adopting the title of "Endowed with life, like Ra for ever." [1] Other factors of Egyptian thought and practice suggest to me a probable origin of several remarkable aspects of initiation. A fundamental belief of the Egyptians related to the ceremony of "opening the mouth," performed by a special instrument dating back to Neolithic times. After the mouth had been touched, the deceased could eat, talk, and drink in the underworld. The restriction of the silence of death was broken, and rebirth by ceremonial resulted in acquisition of power. In initiation are always found abstinence, silence, isolation, and rebirth, with such constancy and uniformity, that an investigator is compelled to search for an historical prototype, and in evidence from Egypt there is a satisfactory unison of beliefs and practices which omit no feature of initiatory rites.

Naming the child, renaming at initiation, and careful guarding of secret names because of identity with the person, are all facts which have been established in chapters dealing with child welfare and the training of boys and girls. To the Egyptian, names were of the utmost importance, these might be lucky or unlucky, and the day for

[1] Budge's "Guide to Egyptian Collections in British Museum," p. 117.

naming was to be carefully chosen. Thoth had great power because he knew the secret names of the gods over whom he had the mastery.[1] The book "May my Name Flourish," though of late period, is a development of a long prayer which is found in the Pyramid Texts of the VI Dynasty. Its object was to make the name of the deceased permanent in heaven and on earth, for it was a common belief, from earliest to latest times in Egypt, that the man whose name was blotted out had no portion or existence in the other world. A nameless soul possessed no identity and could not be introduced to Ra and the Company of the Gods.[2] Usually there are in connection with initiation ceremonies austerities which involve some form of blood letting, as by beating, scarifying, cutting away joints of fingers, knocking out teeth, and other similar acts of violence. There is some basic and now forgotten idea which accounts for the uniformity and wide adoption of such practices. Incidentally, stern measures are useful in correcting the faults arising from indulgent neglect during childhood, but the facts are not adequately met by assuming the operation of independent utilitarian ideas. If, however, we consider violence and mutilation as modifications of human sacrifice which is still carried out during inauguration of chiefs, we have an adequate general principle whose modifications and variates are comprehensible. Tribal initiations are fertility rites, the insignia of puberty and powers of procreation. In the violence practised on novices can be seen a reversal to the original idea of human sacrifice, namely, that of killing the king in order to fertilise the land and rejuvenate his people. Originally connected with inauguration of priest kings in Egypt, and later through Polynesia, there was the practice of human sacrifice

[1] Gaston Maspero, "The Dawn of Civilization," 1910, p. 212.

[2] Budge's "Guide to Egyptian Collections in British Museum," pp. 64, 78, 207.

and cannibalism. Budge says that cannibalism was a feature of Egyptian ceremonial, and certainly the kings are represented pictorially as slaying their gods and eating their parts to acquire virtue and life. This idea is expressed in Pyramid Texts which say, "He has taken the heart of the gods, he has swallowed the knowledge of every god, their charms are in his belly."[1] If, then, a victim be chosen as a substitute for the king or god, killed, and eaten, as is pointed out by Hocart,[2] we have a most important replica of the ancient Egyptian practice, which is the oldest historical evidence that can be produced. A feature of Aztec ritual was the treatment of a well-favoured youth as a god for a period of several weeks, after which time he was sacrificed and his heart was extracted to be held up as an offering to the sun.[3] This idea of sacrificing human beings as gods whose virtues could be transmitted is fundamental in initiation of new kings, gods, and high priests. Such a concept was transferred in modified form from special to common initiation. Along with this transfer there went ideas of rebirth, renaming, and transmission of "power" to novices under some such name as "saka," "mana," "orenda," these being variates of the "life fluid" which the kings of Egypt daily drew from their statues of Ra, the Sun God.

Magical practices forming occupations for priests of all grades, and medicine men, in every stage of society in all parts of the world, can be traced historically to Egypt some 6000 years ago. To the Egyptian every pain and ache was subject to supernatural influence both as to cause and cure. Every remedy was therefore to be prepared with due recitation of words and charms to be spoken when using the measures. The Hearst and Ebers Papyri

[1] J. H. Breasted, "Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt," p. 129.
[2] *Ceylon Journal of Science*, July 2nd, 1924, p. 27.
[3] Spence Lewis, "Gods of Mexico," 1923, pp. 96, 102.

contain many examples of such words of power and remedies which had been practised for centuries.[1] There are chapters to overcome all evil a soul may encounter and the priestly doctor mixed his medicine and called it, "The eye of Horus, tested and found true." Amulets were used in daily life for guarding against snake bite, sickness, or other misfortune, and these were enfolded in the mummy swathings, each amulet having some specific protection or assistance to give toward attainment of heaven.[2] In Egypt, there were lucky and unlucky days on which to be born, and the natal day determined manner of death and length of life. Magicians trained in the school of Thoth who knew the secret names of the gods had control of words and sounds which, emitted at the favourable moment, with the correct voice, would evoke most formidable deities. Magicians could torment an enemy with dreams, apparitions, and mysterious voices, cause women to forsake their loves and love those previously detested. In order to compose an irresistible charm, the magicians merely required a little blood from a person, a few nail parings, some hair, or a scrap of linen, all of which were impregnated with personality. Such items were incorporated with the wax of a doll which was modelled and clothed to resemble the victim, who experienced all the inflictions to which his facsimile was subject. Magic could also annul the ills which magic had introduced. Among the Egyptians, as with many primitive races to-day, there were magicians who acted as specialists, while others were general practitioners.[3] Priests and magicians professed ability to converse with spirits of the dead and to have an intimate acquaintance with all that took place in the other world.[4] This use of wax figures had developed by 312 B.C. into a

[1] Jean Capart, "Primitive Art in Egypt," 1905, p. 5.
[2] G. A. Reisner, "Egyptian Conception of Immortality," 1912, p. 63.
[3] Maspero's "The Dawn of Civilization," p. 212.
[4] Budge's "Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection," vol. ii, p. 180.

definite rite regularly performed in the temple of Amen-Ra at Thebes to make the sun rise. A figure of the monster Apep, who was supposed to be lying in wait to swallow the Sun-god, was made of wax, then wrapped in new papyrus, on which the "accursed name" of the fiend was written in green ink, and solemnly burned in a fire fed by a special kind of herb, while the priest spurned it with his left foot and poured out curses on each of the thirty accursed names of the evil one. As the wax melted and was consumed, together with the papyrus and green ink with which his name was written, so the body of Apep was believed to be consumed in the flames of the rising sun in the eastern sky.[1] The names of Set and his fiends could be made to produce thunder, lightning, storm, cold, famine, pestilence and death. In making concoctions part of dead human bodies were used, the magician professed to read the future and kept the calendar of lucky and unlucky days.[2] In the reign of Ramses III, men accused of a conspiracy were charged with bewitching keepers of the harem. The text reads:—"He began to make wax rolls (containing magical inscriptions), and to make gods of wax for enfeebling limbs of people, and gave them to criminals. Ra did not permit that he should succeed. They were the great crimes of death, the great abominations of the land."[3] Perusal of this chapter will show that each and all of these practices form part of the daily avocation of medicine men in all parts of the world. To many investigators it must appear most probable that such practices had a centre of origin and lines of dispersal, for magical use of wax figures, parts of the person, and the name, likewise control of weather, prophecy of future events, visits to the spirit world, are

[1] Budge's "Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection," vol. ii, p. 178, and "Guide to Egyptian Collections in British Museum," p. 31.

[2] Budge's "Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection," vol. ii, p. 179.

[3] Breasted's "Ancient Records of Egypt," vol. iv, p. 220.

identical and recurrent at all parts of the globe. Fortunately, we are not dealing with one factor, but a complex relating to circumcision; painting and tattooing; unification of priest, king, and god; human sacrifice; transfer of power, rebirth, the importance of the name; and magical rites of a specific kind. Are we then to assume that the human mind is of such a uniform mechanism that it produces a complex of so many specific factors in all kinds of societies and geographical environments? In Egypt of the fourth millennium B.C. the oldest historical evidence in the form of human remains, inscriptions, and texts provides a prototype for every factor just mentioned, and in addition to this shows the factors in workable and operating combination. In adducing such ancient evidence from the Nile Valley, the investigator is in a realm, not of dogmatism, but of palpable historical fact, without which the repeated occurrence of the " mysteries " of initiation is an unsolved conundrum.

The Specialised Education of Boys

Morbid Psychology.—As a general truth, it may be said that education in societies of elementary culture tends towards uniformity and mediocrity. But no matter what may be the physical surroundings, the level of cultural development, or type of social organisation, there are in primitive communities individuals of abnormal psychic and intellectual faculty, who, after a vigorous and specialised education, become qualified to exert their gifts alike for social and anti-social purposes.[1]

The spiritual life of all communities is intimately connected with the ubiquitous medicine man, who, under various local names, functions as physician, diviner, pro-

[1] Ling Roth, " Aborigines of Tasmania," Halifax, 1899, p. 65. The author notes that, although the now extinct Tasmanians had no professional wizards or medicine men, some individuals more than others practised magic.

phet, lawgiver,[1] specialist in magical rites, and priest by virtue of his mediation between the tribesman and non-human forces which are believed to influence the destiny of the social unit. Both amateur and professional practitioners have faith in the power of human control over spiritual forces provided a ritual is followed and due regard is paid to time-honoured spells and prayers.

There is, indeed, a hierarchy of professional talent, diverse alike in skill, method of initiation, integrity, function, and prestige,[2] but amid disparity there are clear general indications of primitive man's discernment of talent and his power to foster and utilise special endowments by appropriate training.

Miss Czaplicka [3] has noted a distinctive dress, usually a red coat, for the " well minded " Shamans, whose function is social and altruistic, and a black coat for the " mocking Shaman," who deals in magic of an anti-social kind. More generally, this dual aspect of wizardry is exhibited in the one person on different occasions. Thus the " wind-maker " of Torres Strait, in order to encourage a breeze which shall take ships out for fishing, smears himself with red ochre and waves his arms in invitation for a breeze. If payment made is deemed insufficient, the magician resorts to black magic in order to drive away the wind. A change of colour is necessary and the red ochre is exchanged for a black covering from head to foot. Then the hands are waved away from the head to drive off the wind.[4]

On the social side, a medicine man may be of real assistance to persons whose ailments he treats rationally, as, for

[1] Early in sociological study H. Spencer noted the political power of the wizard, " Principles of Sociology," vol. ii, p. 178.

[2] Hastings' " Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics," vol. vii, p. 315; G. D'Alviella, " Initiation."

[3] Czaplicka's " Aboriginal Siberia," p. 192.

[4] " Reports of Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait," vol. v, p. 351.

example, by the application of a ligature and the making of incisions in case of snake bites,[1] or by administration of emetics for removal of poisons.[2]

As a prophet, the medicine man may prove to be a social asset by foretelling attacks by enemies,[3] locating game, and other food supplies,[4] prognosticating attacks by epidemic disease,[5] by using ritual and spell in order to increase animal fecundity,[6] insuring a rainfall and causing favourable winds to blow,[7] or driving away a comet.[8]

When equipped for anti-social work, the medicine man appears in less attractive guise, for by virtue of ecstatic utterance and trance vision he holds complete dominion over the lay mind. Hence corruption is frequent, and the witch doctor casts his spell in response to bribery and personal prejudice. This anti-social direction of energy and initiative may result in the formation of secret societies. But evidence relating to initiation in general suggests that these institutions are derived from initiation in an original form, namely, the inauguration of priests and kings as practised in the archaic civilisation of Egypt.

Disparity of function and prestige implied by the terms "Priest" and "Shaman" has been examined in some detail by Clark Wissler.[9] Speaking for centres of higher culture as exemplified by Inca, Chibcha, and Maya-Nahua civilisations, the priest was essentially a keeper of rituals, and priestcraft was organised in unison with and complementary to the political scheme. On the contrary, the

[1] Hollis's "The Nandi," p. 70, and Ellis's "The History of Madagascar," vol. i, p. 227.
[2] Hollis's "The Masai," p. 343.
[3] I. W. Shklovsky, "In Far North East Siberia," London, 1916, p. 155.
[4] Seligman and Seligman's "The Veddas of Ceylon," p. 128.
[5] Hollis's "The Masai," p. 327.
[6] "Reports of Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait," vol. v, p. 351.
[7] *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 183.
[8] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," p. 327.
[9] "The American Indian," 1922, p. 201.

Isambo Wizard with Orchestra to accompany his Dance (Isambo, San Buru, British Congo).
(*Photo : E. Torday.*)

A Witch Doctor and Attendants (Upoto, Upper Congo).
(*Photo : Rev. W. L. Forfeitt.* Baptist Missionary Society, London.)

Shaman claimed to work by aid of some ultramundane power; he was unorganised and in instances itinerant.

Among Pawnee, Ojibway, Navajo, and Apache peoples similar demarcation was the rule, but with the Shoshoni the line of cleavage between priest and medicine man is less clearly defined, while in central California the disparity vanishes. Competent opinion has expressed the view that the sorcerer coerces the spirits by magic, while the priest relies on propitiating them by prayer and sacrifice.[1]

The words of Cureau admirably illustrate the complexity of function under discussion:—"Europeans usually translate the word 'Nganga' by 'fetish doctor,' or 'sorcerer,' but these terms do not adequately convey the extremely comprehensive meaning of the word, which comprises the notion of wise man, priest, magician, judge, doctor. The Nganga's sphere includes all mundane events which have hidden causes and exert an unknown influence upon mankind. It comprehends the secret forces of the unknown world as well as everything bordering on the psychic. Among Fans, 'wise man' comprises all branches of science in his own person, while in other districts each magician has his own speciality. One is a rain-maker, another a physician, another finds criminals, another manufactures amulets. Each village averages one Nganga, and when the local man happens not to be expert those who need his services run on to the next village in quest of the specialist they require."[2]

"Are the Ngangas mere charlatans, or have they some little or real faith?" asks Cureau, and as a solution of the problem he divides practitioners into "amateur" and "professional," the former sincere and meticulously accurate in detail of ritual, the latter less reliable.[3]

[1] Carveth Reade, "The Origin of Man and of His Superstitions," London, 1920, ch. viii, p. 253.

[2] Cureau's "Savage Man in Central Africa," p. 303.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 305.

Spencer and Gillen record that a wizard when demonstrating thought that the pointing stick had entered his own head and became seriously ill.[1] Another practitioner experienced loss of power after drinking hot tea, because hot drinks were taboo to him.[2]

Evidence collated in later pages is conclusive on the point of a "call" to the profession. There is inward prompting, even compulsion on the part of some alleged discarnate intelligence, who may urge the novice to Shamanise against his natural inclination.[3] In primitive society, though integrity be the general rule, there no doubt exist those priests who, in Miltonic phrase, "For their bellies' sake creep, intrude, and climb into the fold . . . while hungry sheep look up and are not fed."[4] And among primitive medical men there are prototypes of modern specialists, who, conscious of their own limitations and the lacunæ of medical research, nevertheless fully avail themselves of a client's credulity.

Before entering upon a geographical survey of the distribution of specialised education for medicine men, and prior to a collation of evidence relating to such points as the vocational call; initiation, with its accompanying secrecy, hardship, and ritual; also the relationship of a medicine man to society; it may be pertinent to inquire into the main psychological factors involved in this vocation.

There is without question a congenital process at work in determining who shall function as medicine man, but what the essential neurological basis may be is obscure.

The novice begins to be delicate, he abstains from food, wanders in solitude, has maddening dreams amounting to hallucinations, and may say on waking, "One part of my

[1] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," p. 326.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 481.
[3] Czaplicka's "Aboriginal Siberia," p. 169 *et seq.*
[4] "Lycidas," lines 115, 125.

body felt different from other parts, it was no longer alike all over," [1] a condition which might be scientifically termed "local anæsthesia," or loss of sensation in parts. The so-called delicacy appears to be remedied by Shamanising with its violent dancing and drumming demanding considerable muscular effort. Novices are by no means willing entrants into the brotherhood of medicine men. "Nine years I struggled with myself," said the Yakut youth, who eventually found relief from mental conflict in Shamanistic rites.

The "call" to the profession is an established fact; one novice is "induced by his heart," another hears the call of the spirit whose voice he dare not disobey, and the inductive process followed [2] shows clearly that there arises from the subconscious an irresistible prompting to Shamanistic practices. The psychology of to-day is so occupied with the nature of this subconscious mind and its relation to the conscious life, and theories are in such a plastic state, that it would be premature to launch out into an attempt to explain with precision the nature and origin of the "call."

There are, however, certain points which arrest attention :—

(1) The "call" occurs to youths at puberty when the emotions are unstable.

(2) A "call" is experienced only by novices of a particular physical constitution wherein nervous excitability is prominent.

(3) The vocation is usually hereditary, possibly implying inheritance of a suitable neuro-muscular basis and a calculated desire to retain prestige within a family circle.

[1] Rev. Canon H. Callaway, "The Religious System of the Ama Zulu," 1870, pp. 259–330.

[2] This work, p. 255–6.

(4) Resistance to the " call " sets up a " complex," that is, a mental striving between an emotionally toned system of ideas arising in unexplained subconscious manner, and a voluntary repression from the higher consciousness.

The novice invariably has a mystical and spiritual experience during a period of isolation, when his physical condition is abnormal owing to fasting and fatigue, and at such time animal helpers play a prominent part.[1] Later, in actual practice as a medicine man, the trained " angakok " can travel through the air to the gods and see them. His body is left lifeless on the earth while the free soul roams through the universe.[2] Such mystical experiences may be considered analogous to those recorded by Professor William James,[3] who recognises a possibility that all mind, *infra* human, human, and superhuman, is one, and that ecstatic sense of absorption or mystic union is due to a partial or temporary suspension of the conditions which commonly isolate the individual mind. Such an abstruse speculation is, however, outside the range of practical discussion relating to origins and development of social institutions.

Although the peculiar neurological condition of the novice and the nature of the vocational " call " present a difficult problem, there is in his behaviour sufficient evidence to warrant his inclusion with those psycho-neurotic cases which have formed a subject of discussion for Freud,[4] Rivers,[5] Coriat,[6] Crichton Miller,[7] and other modern experts in psychotherapy.

[1] This work, p. 266–7.

[2] Thalbitzer, " The Heathen Priests of East Greenland," Verhandlungen des XVI Internationalen Amerikanisten Kongressen, Wien, 1908, p. 447.

[3] " Psychology of Religious Experiences."

[4] S. Freud, " Totem and Taboo," 1919.

[5] W. H. R. Rivers, " Instinct and the Unconscious," 1922.

[6] I. H. Coriat, " Repressed Emotions," 1921.

[7] H. Crichton Miller, " The New Psychology and the Teacher," 1922.

Hypotheses, discussion, and controversy centre primarily around the nature of the subconscious mind, its psychological composition, origin, and stratigraphy, likewise the manner in which it is co-ordinated with and at the same time isolated to a great extent from conscious processes.

Present-day inquiries along these lines leave the distinct impression that the mental experiences of the novice are comparable with those of neurotics suffering from war strain or other causes liable to engender a conflict between some strong primary emotion and an antagonistic action which is approved by social custom, education, and tradition.

After collation of evidence respecting the novitiate and practice of medicine men and a consideration of this in unison with facts adduced by modern writers on psychotherapeutics, I advance the hypothesis that the primitive medicine man suffers primarily from a " fear " neurosis.

The novice, often an unwilling recipient of the " call " to Shamanise, places himself *en rapport* with spirits, or discarnate intelligences, who henceforth rule his life. Primitive man experiences a lively terror with regard to ghosts, and precautionary measures of food offerings to the spirits, tying the feet of the deceased, avoiding burial places, tabooing names of the dead, and other protective acts are too numerous and well established to require detailed exposition. An active fear, whose native reaction would be flight and avoidance, is in sharp and continued conflict with a compulsion to enter a profession to which contact with spirit control is fundamental.

Constant striving and inhibition create a complex which Dr. Bernard Hart describes as " any emotionally toned system of ideas," and to which Rivers attributes a definite pathological implication. " The complex is not only a result of suppression but a product of the independent activity of the suppressed content." Freud has stressed the importance of sex instincts and their repression in

relation to formation of a neurotic condition. The novice becomes ill about the time of puberty when strong incipient sex instincts are no doubt in conflict with denials demanded by the " call " and its attendant solitudes and privations. But on the whole I incline to the view that the neurosis of the medicine man is primarily due to fear, though in all probability sexual emotions and their suppression have causative function of a secondary nature.

The hysteria and anæsthesia of the novice are explicable in the light of a fear neurosis, for Rivers states, after examination of many invalided soldiers, that hysteria may be regarded as a solution of the conflict between instinctive tendencies and controlling forces. Anæsthesia is one of the most frequent accompaniments of suppression and is often found in conjunction with hysteria which is primarily due to activity of a danger instinct.[1]

There can be little room for doubting the reality of mental influences upon nutrition, repair, and normal function of bodily organs, and in this connection there is interest in noting the manner in which the mental conflict of the novice reacts upon his physique, weakened as it is by wandering in solitude, emaciated by hunger, physical pain, terrifying dreams, and possibly initiatory rites of a disgusting nature. It is under such unhappy conditions that there arises a dual personality, a " splitting of the stream of consciousness." The young medicine man, like the patients described by Professor William McDougall, experiences a sudden collapse of his normal social life which is replaced by a period in which he behaves in a manner unlike himself, wandering to a distant place and there taking up a new mode of life, eventually returning to resume his foretime occupations.[2]

Investigation of the circumstances surrounding initiation

[1] Rivers's " Instinct and the Unconscious," p. 129.
[2] " Psychology," Home University Library, p. 197.

of medicine men could not support a statement that there is complete disintegration of personality implying a forgetfulness of one aspect by the other. On the contrary, the novice relates his experience of animal helpers and spirit voices, while the practitioner speaks of his absence from the body in order to learn the divine will, which he communicates to the tribe. One may be tolerably sure, however, that many of the novices' painful experiences and alarming dreams will, with lapse of time, and interference of ordinary routine, be relegated to the subconscious. There, according to Rivers, "they will have an independent activity whether accompanied by alternate consciousness or wholly within the region of the unconscious." [1] "There is definite evidence that the suppressed experience and the tendencies associated therewith may have a kind of independent existence and may act indirectly upon or modify consciousness, even when incapable of recall by any of the ordinary processes of thought." [2]

Symbolic dreams, and the undeniable relief afforded by Shamanising, are explicable in the light of a hypothesis which regards the neurotic condition as arising from a conflict between suppressed tendencies and normal modes of thought or action, which hold these in check by a rigorous censorship, whose removal affords temporary relief.

The system of taboos or prohibitions forming an essential element in the novitiate, may, I think, be regarded as a condition which aggravates the neurotic symptoms to an appreciable extent. Freud points out that the basis of taboo is "forbidden action for which there exists a strong inclination in the unconscious." [3] If so, one is able to realise how potent are such prohibitions in the case of a

[1] Dr. Morton Prince, "Dissociation of Personality," and A. Binet, "Double Personality." "Instinct and the Unconscious," chaps. iii and xi.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

[3] "Totem and Taboo," Introduction.

novice, and to what extent they add to his mental conflict, thus making the neurosis more complete.[1]

A full explanation of the psychological condition of novices and medicine men awaits the advance of experimental work in the realm of abnormal psychology. Mental conflict of a young Shaman is explicable on the grounds of a fear neurosis and his condition, with its anxiety hysteria, local or complete anæsthesia, compulsive ideas, dreams, obsessions, hallucinations, and introversive habit, all point to the inclusion of the novice with a large and greatly studied class of neurotics whose condition is due to serious conflict between some strong primary emotion and opposing demands made by the social environment.

In conjunction with these psychological considerations, there remain the important factors of suggestion and suggestibility,[2] which enter alike into processes of initiation and subsequent practice. The novice may be introduced to spirits who are addressed by the instructor in a loud voice, Shamanistic power may be communicated by rubbing with crystals, stabbing with a knife previously used to puncture the body of the instructor, and later the qualified practitioner exhibits to a patient some bone or stick introduced into the sufferer's body by the magic of an enemy; or a "soul trap" may be displayed in order to ensnare the spirit which is attempting to leave the body. Professor Carveth Read[3] has pointed out that upon the perceptual plane a savage's mind is well organised, but on the ideational plane it is in most cases ill-organised, poor in analysis and classification, but abounding in beliefs about magic and animism. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that analysis and classification are satisfactory and logical within the domain of primitive thought which is held by Rivers and others to be rational, though, in absence of scientific

[1] Taboos of the Novice, this work, p. 177.
[2] Boris Sidis, "Psychology of Suggestion," New York, 1898.
[3] "The Origin of Man and of His Superstitions," p. 275.

knowledge, thought processes may originate in false premises. "The art of the wizard consists in getting such

BLACKFOOT MEDICINE MAN.

This mummery relieves the neurotic temperament of the performer, and is intended to sooth a sufferer by suggesting that demons of disease will be frightened away.

hold of his clients' attention that, as in hypnosis, the power of reflective comparison is suspended." The employment of suggestion in the preparation and practice of medicine

men is consonant with Dr. McDougall's definition of suggestion being "a process of communication resulting in the acceptance with conviction of the communicated proposition in the absence of logically adequate ground for its acceptance." [1] The interesting fact from the standpoint of present inquiry is that in adoption and development of his educational system primitive man should have selected and utilised with signal success a method which modern medical practitioners and teachers are wont to employ.

The Arunta of Central Australia.—Among the Arunta people of central Australia medicine men are divided into three classes, having a power and standing which varies with the method of initiation. The social status of the witch doctor may be said to depend very largely on his intimacy with the spirit world, on which he relies for power of prophetic vision and knowledge of therapeutic art. First and foremost, then, among the Arunta are medicine men who, during adolescence, were initiated by the "Iruntarinia" or spirits. Secondly, there are the medicine men whose power is derived from Oruncha, a special kind of mischievous demon which corresponds to the "poltergeist" of modern psychic research. As a third and lowest grade of witch doctor, one has to consider individuals whose abnormal power may be directly ascribed to intimacy with other medicine men of the higher grades.[2]

A youth selected for special education must be silent, reserved, and generally of neurotic temperament, all of which traits are accentuated by seclusion, starvation, and hypnotic suggestion.

A novice who aspires to join the "Iruntarinia" class of doctors feels a special call to the vocation, and in response to such inward promptings repairs by night, taking care

[1] Wm. McDougall's "Social Psychology," p. 97.
[2] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. ii, p. 334 *et seq.*

MEDICINE MAN, CENTRAL AUSTRALIA

He says that the spirits who initiated him made the hole in his tongue.

(Sir Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen : "Across Australia.")

"MIRIA, THE SORCERER."

This man was frequently arrested by British police for sorcery. His art was chiefly of the "black" type, though he professed a knowledge of therapy. His treasures included the hand of his own dead child and the thighbone of his father.

(Rev. H. M. Dauncey : "Papuan Pictures." London Missionary Society.)

that he is unobserved, to the mouth of a cave inhabited by the "Iruntarinia" spirits.

On no account must the novice enter the cave under penalty of angering the spirits who might abduct him permanently, so at the mouth of the cave he sleeps until break of day. The spirits communicate their power by launching a number of darts, one of which pierces the back of the neck in order to admit psychic power, while the hole in the tip of the tongue, the hall mark of an "Iruntarinia" medicine man, is alleged to be the work of darts launched by the spirits themselves. In considering "The Devil's Mark," distinguishing witches, Miss Murray provides an interesting analogy to the foregoing belief.[1]

The novitiate is further characterised by the launching of a lance which, piercing the head of the novice, kills him and the body is carried into the sacred cave of the "Iruntarinia." Here the spirits provide a new set of internal organs, bestow the powers of divination, prophecy, and healing, after which they lead the novice back to his own people, among whom he appears dazed and stupid for a few days. One morning, the young medicine man appears with a broad band of fat and charcoal across his face in token that he has graduated, but nevertheless must not practise for a full year. If during that probationary period the hole in his tongue closes, the medicine man infers that spiritual power has left him and without hesitation retires from the profession. Such retirement is not accompanied by disgrace, though there is, of course, a loss of prestige when the skilled man is absorbed among the plebeians. Financially, the retiring medicine man suffers no loss, for his professional services are, among the Arunta, at any rate, quite gratuitous.

From elder medicine men the young practitioner learns the secrets of his craft, one very important part of the

[1] *Man*, October, 1918, p. 81.

tuition being connected with a sleight of hand frequently employed by medicine men for the apparent abstraction of stones, chiefly quartz crystals, from their own bodies or those of their patients. The young doctor must study the art of looking exceedingly solemn and preoccupied, totally unconcerned with the daily trivialities of tribal life, and on the positive side he must be fully acquainted with the *modus operandi* for driving away demons of disease, cursing and tracking a foe to death, driving away a comet, or insuring an abundant supply of food and rain.

Sleight of hand is of great importance when treating a patient, who is invariably told that sickness results from the introduction into his person of a quartz crystal, projected by the magical practices of an enemy. The doctor rubs his patient vigorously, sings over him, claims to be in successful pursuit of the soul, which is endeavouring to leave the patient's body, and as a grand finale holds up to the astonished gaze of all present a quartz crystal which is alleged to have been removed from the heart, liver, or kidneys of the sick man, who forthwith recovers by a process of strong auto-suggestion when he feels that black magic is no longer successfully directed against him.

The young medicine man may at any time lose this power of producing crystals, which he claims to have received from the "Iruntarinia." Food restrictions are imposed on the medicine man, and any breach of these leads to rapid loss of power, a loss which is also occasioned by drinking hot liquid, or suffering the bite of a species of ant, and in event of any of these occurrences the practitioner must at once retire.[1]

Initiatory ceremonies of medicine men in the region of the Upper Finke River are usually carried out by two old practitioners, one belonging to the "Iruntarinia," the other to the "Oruncha" school. The novice is taken to

[1] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. ii, p. 336.

a secluded spot and there made to stand upright with hands clasped behind his head, while a strict ban of silence is enforced. The instructors withdraw from their bodies small, clear crystals known as "atnongara," or healing stones, which are deposited in the hollow of a spear-thrower. Each elderly medicine man takes hold of a leg of the novice and slowly presses the magic crystals with considerable force along the front of the leg and up the body as high as the breast-bone. This operation is repeated three times until the skin is marked with deep incisions, and the novice no doubt feels fully convinced that the magical substances have entered his body. From a distance, the medicine men go through motions of projecting stones into the head of the novice, a procedure which is followed by further rubbing with crystals, striking the head with crystals, and drinking water containing powdered quartz.[1]

The novice is then allowed to sleep, but no food is given to him until evening. The whole performance is repeated on the second day, and in addition to the routine mentioned the tongue of the young medicine man is pierced and he is painted with designs unifying him with the great Oruncha spirit.

Until the hole in the tongue is quite healed, the novice has to observe several important restrictions. He must remain in the men's quarter; on no account may he break the ban of silence; he must not go hunting, and food may be received only from a mother, wife, or elder sister.[2]

What, then, is the object of this specialised training? and the answer would appear to be concerned with the evident desire to establish a sympathetic bond between the young medicine man and occult powers on whose aid his future efforts depend. No doubt medicine men themselves

[1] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," p. 337. Compare with Czaplicka's "Aboriginal Siberia," p. 181. The Shaman stabs the novice with a knife which has previously been plunged into his own body.

[2] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. i, p. 338.

are fully conscious of a certain amount of deception, but retirement when loss of power is felt as a consequence of violated prohibition implies integrity and conscientious regard for the profession.

In addition to this general training, carried out with a view to placing the pupil *en rapport* with non-human forces, there is the necessity for imparting detailed knowledge of technique, ritual, and spell, which may be used at any time to set in motion the spiritual forces so revered and dreaded by primitive man.

Sickness is invariably held to be the result of evil machinations of an enemy who by magical means, such as pointing the bone and muttering a curse,[1] has succeeded in introducing a foreign body into the vitals of his victim, and it is at this juncture that we see the medicine man acting in a strong social capacity.[2] A diagnosis is made by the physician, who declares that an enemy has introduced a crystal, sharpened bone, or stick into the body of the patient. The medicine man gazes intently at the sufferer, then perhaps goes a few yards away and glances fiercely at him. The patient's arm is seized and jerked forward several times in order to inject into him "atnongara"; these are curative stones, which are thought to have been introduced into the body of the medicine man at initiation.

Rapidly the medicine man prances from one side to another, after which he makes a mysterious searching. He then goes through the movements of cutting a string, said to be attached to the pointing bone which an enemy has magically launched into the sufferer, whose pains are thought to result from a pulling of the string by evil spirits.

Repeated representation of the projection of "atnongara" stones from medicine man to patient in all prob-

[1] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," p. 346.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 339–40.

Australian Medicine Man sucking Magic from a Sick Man.
(*Photo : Sir Baldwin Spencer :* " Handbook to Australia," 1914.)

MEDICINE MAN AND HIS WIFE.

(Captain T. Whiffen : " North-West Amazons." Constable & Co., Ltd.)

ability symbolises a flow of healing power which primitive man ascribes to his medicine men on account of their intimacy with the spirit world.

No fees are asked when the medicine man finally extracts the stone or bone which has endangered the patient. The object is held up for inspection, and the patient is no longer burdened with a sense of magical forces working against him; on the contrary, he believes all baneful influences to have been removed, and no doubt wonderful recoveries are largely due to strong faith and auto-suggestion, aided by a physique which has been hardened by a life of continuous exercise.

When assisting a tribesman to encompass the death of an enemy, the medicine man appears in a capacity somewhat anti-social, that is, he seeks to destroy life, and in perpetuating a blood feud is acting contrary to the best interests of the community. In order successfully to carry out a nefarious enterprise, the medicine man covers himself from head to foot with charcoal, which happens to be symbolic of the task in view. This garb he relieves by the addition of white stripes. Special shoes named "kurdaitcha,"[1] manufactured from blood and emu feathers, are worn by both men, and while these are being adjusted a refrain, meaning "to me stick fast," is continuously chanted. The success of the venture is further assured by the avenging "kurdaitcha" man wearing a girdle fabricated from the hair of his intended victim. In fact, some part of the victim is essential in all magical practices directed against the health and life of an enemy. The medicine man and his accomplice each carry a shield, a spear, and one or more bull-roarers which impart strength, courage and accuracy of aim. The bull-roarer consists of a thin slat of wood which when whirled about the head gives out a weird, shrill musical note. The instrument is of almost universal distribution,

[1] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. ii, p. 354.

and is commonly used by primitive man in rain making and other magical rites.

Stealthily the men depart, taking care that they are unobserved; cautiously both move forward, the "kur-daitcha" man leading, the medicine man following close behind. As a rule, the enemy is speared from behind without warning, and without receiving the opportunity of fighting for his life. When the blow has been struck by spear or boomerang, the medicine man advances and closes the wound by magic, a special kind of lizard being used to suck up the blood in order to remove all trace of the affray. The avenger intends that his victim, owing to the special treatment of the medicine man, shall recover, only, however, to sicken and die slowly on account of the evil magic which has been introduced into the wound closed by the medicine man.

"The whole affair is a perfect myth, yet the natives implicitly believe in it, just as they do in endless forms of equally unmeaning magic. . . . One man actually believes that another can do something which he is perfectly well aware that he himself cannot do, though he pretends to be able to do so." [1]

Veddas of Ceylon. The initiatory training given by an elderly Shaman to a novice among the Veddas of Ceylon illustrates what is very common in all similar rites, namely, the placing of a pupil in direct contact with non-human forces on which his professional skill depends.

As a rule, each Shaman is responsible for the initiation of his successor, in all probability his son, or the son of his sister.[2] A special building is erected for instructional purposes and, as is generally the case among primitive people, women are carefully excluded from the ceremony. There

[1] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. ii, p. 355.

[2] Seligman and Seligman's "The Veddas of Ceylon," pp. 128–30. Compare Junod's "The Life of a South African Tribe," vol. ii, p. 415.

is a well-defined feeling among savage races to the effect that woman must have no share in magico-religious practices, and the penalties for unwarranted attempts to probe the secrets of mystic ritual are severe.

The Vedda youth learns in the first instance to repeat the invocations which a skilled medicine man uses when approaching the "yaku" or spirits. Ritual, carried out in accordance with tribal precedent is the recognised road to success in dealing with the spirit world, and no departure from the time-honoured formulæ is tolerated. At a later stage, the novice is taught how to offer food to the spirits, but this is not attempted until he has been fully introduced to the familiar spirits, which will, on subsequent occasions, enter into him and cause the usual trance, hysteria, or other abnormal conditions.

The tutor carefully explains to the spirits that he is training a pupil, so that the youth may be free from spirit control while learning the principles of his craft. In the following terms the Shaman boldly addresses the attendant spirits :

"May your life be long. . . . From to-day I am rearing a scholar of the mind. Do not take any offence at it. I am explaining to my pupil how to give this offering to you." [1]

The pupil during training must observe certain food taboos. Rice, coconuts, and pork are prohibited, white fowl must not be eaten in the manner in which the Shaman himself partakes of it. The initiatory ceremonies appear to be modified by, and permeated with, the idea that evil will result should the novice quickly attempt contact with spirits by a too hasty usurpation of the Shamanistic function.

The medicine man exercises a complete control over his pupil, and as a rule he does not train more than one youth

[1] Seligman and Seligman's "The Veddas of Ceylon," p. 129.

for the avocation. No matter what aptitude is shown by a novice, he may not become the official Shaman for the community during the life of his tutor,[1] although the pupil may, when granted permission, become possessed by the spirits ("yaku"). Such possession is of practical importance to the community, for it results in a revelation of the locality of game, honey, and other essential food supplies.

Throughout life, the professional medicine man retains a dread of the spirits with whom, to a certain extent, he is familiar. The Shaman is afraid to cut his hair without following the precaution of holding a cloth over his head. Should the precaution be neglected, death is regarded as an inevitable consequence, and, speaking generally, primitive man must be regarded as extremely suspicious of non-human agents. Evidently the spirits are held to be arbitrary, exacting, and ever ready to visit a breach of ritual with penalties. Hence in each instance the training of a novice consists of a gradual introduction to forces, and discarnate beings, which are thought to be quite capable of co-operating for the tribal welfare, provided they are at all times suitably approached, cajoled, and placated.

Borneo.—In Borneo, the very elaborate practices of the medicine man have been carefully studied, but I have no details of the actual selection and training of the novice. When the pain is localised, the "Dayong" sucks the spot with a short hollow tube made from a plant of the ginger family. The chant runs

> "O holy Dayong, thou who lovest mankind
> Bring back thy servant from Leman.
> The region between the lands of life and death.
> O holy Dayong."

Supplication to a superior power "Bali" is made; the

[1] Compare with the initiated medicine man of the Arunta who must not practise for one year subsequent to his introduction to the public. Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. ii, p. 335.

KAYAN MEDICINE MAN DANCING.

(*Photo : Dr. C. Hose :* "Pagan Tribes of Borneo.")

soul is followed in its efforts to escape with an evil spirit or Toh, while the Dayong dances in mimicry of his efforts to induce the soul to return. When this is accomplished the soul is kept in the body by a bead bracelet or tattooed design. A " soul trap " is at times employed.[1]

Indians of Guiana.—A point common to all systems of training for the important social position of tribal medicine man appears to be a belief that inherited faculty is essential for success, and as a corollary we find that the Shamanistic function is hereditary. In accordance with this, the " peaiman," a local name for the medicine man among the Indians of Guiana, trains his son for office, and in case there is no male offspring, the " peaiman " has the right of choosing from the tribe some youth of epileptic tendency.[2]

The candidate who aspires to become a " peaiman " has to undergo painful and severe tests of endurance. Hunger and seclusion in the forest, during which time he is dependent on casual supplies of a self-obtained nature, are his lot; and in such points his training approximates to that of the medicine man of Central Australia[3] and Siberia.[4]

Gradually a novice becomes accustomed to drinking tobacco water, which excites him before acting as a narcotic. "He is trained to use and command his voice like a ventriloquist. Maddened by the draughts of nicotine, by the terrors of long solitary wanderings, and fearfully excited by his own ravings, he is able to work himself at will into those most fantastic passions of excitement, during which he is supposed to hold converse with the " kenaimas " or spirits which he can control when in an ecstatic condition.

[1] Hose and McDougall's " The Pagan Tribes of Borneo," vol. ii, p. 120; vol. ii, pp. 28, 32, 35.

[2] Whiffen's " The North-west Amazons," p. 181, and im Thurn's " Among the Indians of Guiana," p. 335.

[3] Spencer and Gillen's " Across Australia," vol. ii, p. 334.

[4] Czaplicka's " Aboriginal Siberia," p. 178.

There is, however, a more rational aspect of the medicine man's training which is to be found in his assiduous learning of all tribal traditions so that he becomes a repository for tribal law and precedent, and on this account is responsible for the transmission of this lore to his successor. The " peaiman " is also an authority on the medicinal uses of herbs; poisonous varieties are well known to him, and his advice on the collection of vegetarian foods is of great practical importance to the community. Like the medicine man among the Veddas, the " peaiman " of Guiana is able to prophesy with regard to the location of game.[1]

At times, even when there is no instance of severe illness in the village, but the presence of evil spirits is announced by the whistling of certain birds, the " peaiman " has a public duty to perform by walking round the village at night in order to drive these away by beating a drum and shaking a rattle.

The *modus operandi* of the medicine man of Guiana provides an illustration of primitive man's usual method of dealing with the sick, who are invariably held to be possessed by demons of disease; or at any rate the patient is thought to be suffering from disabilities which have been introduced by the evil magic of a private enemy. The curative method of the medicine man is therefore arranged so that magic may be frustrated by powerful remedial suggestion of superior counter-magic.

On one occasion, Sir Everard im Thurn, when living with the Macusi Indians, allowed himself to be treated by the local medicine man, who claimed to be able to reduce a fever by magical methods. Shortly after dark the patient carried his hammock to the hut of the " peaiman " and there resting it, after making a present of tobacco leaves, which were steeped in water contained in a calabash on the

[1] im Thurn's " Among the Indians of Guiana," p. 335; Seligman and Seligman's " The Veddas of Ceylon," p. 128.

ground. The medicine man had provided himself with bunches of large green leaves which were rustled over the patient to suggest the entry and exit of spirits. All fires and lights were extinguished, the patient was warned not to put his foot to the ground under direst penalties from the " Kenaimas " or evil spirits, and at this point the curative magical forces were mobilised.

" For a moment all was still, till suddenly the silence was broken by a burst of indescribable and really terrible yells, roars, and shouts, which filled the house, sometimes rising rhythmically to a roar, sometimes sinking to a low distant sound, which never ceased for six hours. Questions seemed to be thundered out and answers shouted back. . . . It was the ' peaiman ' roaring out questions and commands to the ' Kenaimas,' who were yelling, shouting, and growling their answers.[1]

" Every now and then through the mad din there was a sound at first low and indistinct, then gathering in volume as if some big winged thing came from far toward the house, passed through the roof, then settled heavily on the floor. As each of these mysterious beings came and went, the air, as if displaced by wings was driven over my face . . . they were the ' Kenaimas ' coming and going. Each ' Kenaima ' lapped up the tobacco water, promised not to trouble the patient again and flew rustling away.

" It was a clever piece of ventriloquism and acting. The whole long terrific noise came from the throat of the ' peaiman,' or perhaps a little of it from that of his wife." The patient passed into a fitful stupor, during which he was possibly in a state of mesmeric trance. At the end of the performance the medicine man, following the usual custom, held up an object, in this instance a caterpillar,

[1] im Thurn's " Among the Indians of Guiana," p. 336. Compare with the Shamanistic performance described in Shklovsky's " In Far North East Siberia," p. 155.

which he claimed to have removed from the body of his client. Unlike the medicine man of central Australia the "peaiman" of Guiana receives a material reward, and no tribesman dare refuse his demands. The greater part of the reward is, however, indirect, consisting of local prestige and an immense amount of influence in tribal councils.

Evidence concerning the medicine men of Guiana has recently been supplied by T. Whiffen (1915), and the main points touched upon by an earlier writer, Sir E. im Thurn (1883), are corroborated.

The former writer, speaking from personal observation, draws attention to the hereditary nature of the office. Perhaps the Indians believe in the transmission of psychic qualities which characterise Shamans, or preservation of social status may be the fundamental idea. "The eldest son, if efficient, succeeds the father," and what is unique, so far as my reading goes, is a statement to the effect that bodily hairiness is a necessary qualification for a youth who wishes to be trained as a Shaman. The reason for this requirement may be accounted for to some extent by the native belief that the soul of a medicine man may be reincarnated in a puma, also that during his lifetime the Shaman may take temporarily the form of a panther or other animal of the feline species. To assist in this transformation, the medicine man always wears a jaguar skin. "Often the medicine man will have a small boy, maybe a son, who is also credited with magic gifts." One with an epileptic tendency is preferred, and an integral part of the ceremony of initiation consists of sleight of hand tricks which are somewhat clumsily performed; a favourite delusion is a pretence to pass a stick up the nose and out of the back of the head.[1]

Shamanism in Arctic Regions.—In Siberia there are opportunities of observing the primitive medicine man at work.

[1] Whiffen's "The North-west Amazons, p. 181. Compare im Thurn's "Among the Indians of Guiana," p. 335.

Transformed Shaman of the Chukchee.
He acts in a simpering manner, pretending to be a coy woman, and is greatly feared on account of his powers of divination and prophecy.
(*Photo : Jesup Expedition.* American Museum of Natural History, New York.)

Siberian Shaman beating Drum to call up Spirits.

Under the name of "Shaman," [1] among the Chukchee in the extreme north-east of Asia; likewise among the Gilyak, Koryak, Tungus, Yakuts, and other primitive races of Mongoloid extraction, the medicine man is described by Miss M. A. Czaplicka. [2]

In some instances the Shamanistic office is hereditary, and among all tribes the supernatural gift is necessary, there must be the development of an innate psychic faculty described by the Chukchee word "enenilit," meaning "those with spirit."

At the root of all Shamanistic practices is the phenomenon of arctic hysteria, which in some of its aspects is not unlike epileptic symptoms. The Shaman appears to possess controlled hysterical tendencies, and it is in this power of alternate control and voluntary relaxation that he differs from the ordinary patient.

Training in sleight of hand and ventriloquism form part of a Shaman's equipment for office, though these powers do not necessarily constitute a medicine man. Power to handle and eat hot coals, to produce coins from the mouth, also to swallow a long stick impresses primitive society. Though much of the performance may be attributed to adept conjuring and so dismissed, the subject of local anæsthesia and immunity from suffering when handling hot objects is of more scientific moment. One of the many interesting points dealt with by Sir William Crookes, also by Sir F. W. Barrett in his book "On the Threshold of the Unseen" is immunity from pain and injury during trance and hysteria.

In common with all medicine men, the Siberian Shaman adopts a reserved attitude. His life is one of solitude, of meditation, of concourse with a non-material world whose

[1] Possibly a derivative from the Manchu word "Saman," meaning one who is excited, moved, or raised.

[2] Czaplicka's "Aboriginal Siberia," p. 169 *et seq.* "A Study in Social Anthropology," and "My Siberian Year," London, 1916."

inhabitants reveal their ghostly presence to the clairvoyant medicine man who acts as a medium between them and human beings.

A Shaman claims that at puberty, acting in response to the inner call of spirits, he prepared for the vocation which novices regard as most unpleasant, though they dare not disobey for fear of penalties; for should a "call" be ignored the spirit becomes visible in order to make his wishes more clear.

The personal experiences of a young Yakut Shaman are described in the words: "When I was twenty years old I became very ill and began to see with my eyes, and to hear with my ears that which others did not see or hear. Nine years I struggled with myself and I did not tell anyone what was happening to me, as I was afraid people would not believe me and would make fun of me. At last I became so seriously ill that I was on the verge of death, but when I started to Shamanise I became better." In this, as in other instances, there appears to be some central nervous excitement, suppressed emotion, conflict, or a "complex" which constantly prompts to abnormal action, and in the vigorous dancing, shouting, and drum beating the neurotic youth finds relief.[1]

As a rule the peculiar nervous temperament of the Shaman is manifest in the general bearing and expression of the eyes, which are of a particular brilliance in order, so the Chukchee say, to enable the medicine man to see his spirit helpers, who are regarded as being quick to punish the youth who does not respond to their call.

The Chukchee describe the period of initiation by a phrase which may be translated in the words "he gathers Shaman-

[1] Czaplicka's "Aboriginal Siberia," p. 173. Compare with the call received by other youths who aspire to be medicine men, Junod's "The Life of a South African Tribe," vol. ii, p. 414, and Routledge's "With a Prehistoric People," p. 251.

istic power," and during the preparatory period the ordeal is made less painful for weak men and female Shamans.[1] Isolation appears to be essential, and the novice is condemned to lonely wanderings among hills and forests, to which he resorts under pretext of watching the herds of reindeer. This secrecy is reminiscent of the stealth with which the Arunta novice of Central Australia sets forth in order to sleep at the entrance of a cave inhabited by "Iruntarinia," or spirits. Publicity, so it seems, would interfere with the acquisition of power and so negative the whole process of inspiration. Complete isolation must, of course, tend to emphasise the novice's peculiarities of temperament. He becomes contented with self-communion, and learns to forgo the pleasures of contact with his fellow men, a condition which appears to be universally essential among medicine men of primitive tribes. Privations in the form of hunger, thirst, and excessive fatigue reduce the body to an abnormally low physical condition, which is likely to favour an unrestrained excitability of the emotions, so rendering hallucination and trance vision probable.

Seclusion involved in the training of Siberian Shamans and of medicine men generally is akin to the puberty rites of the North American Indians,[2] by whom the novice was, in the time of Catlin, sent into solitude and privation until he dreamed of his "manitou," an animal helper regarded through life as a guardian spirit. This acquisition of new power and status through solitude is one of several points which suggest derivation of the commoner's initiation from that of specialists.

The Shaman of Siberia [3] spends a great deal of time in sleep, often in the snow, where he may remain for several

[1] Czaplicka's "Aboriginal Siberia," p. 178. The wife of the medicine man assists, see McClintock's "The Old North Trail," p. 248, and im Thurn's "Among the Indians of Guiana," p. 336.

[2] Catlin's "North American Indians," vol. i, p. 36.

[3] Czaplicka's "Aboriginal Siberia," p. 179.

days, at the end of which he returns quite unconscious of the duration of his absence; in fact, the novice may not know that he has been wandering in the wilderness. Nevertheless, he is always conscious of having obtained the help of a guardian spirit which may have appeared in the form of a human being, wolf, bear, raven, eagle, or seagull.

Physically then, the novitiate consists of becoming proficient in making loud and continuous invocation to the world of spirits, by shouting, singing, ventriloquism, and vigorous drum beating. On the mental and intellectual side, there must be an acquired reticence calculated to impress the lay mind with a sense of the Shaman's importance. There should be an addition of acquired prophetic power, ability to diagnose disease, and exorcise the demon; and, above all, the Shaman must assure to himself the power of controlling fits of hysteria so that he can pass suddenly from excitement to tranquillity.

During the process of training there may be a transfer of power from the tutor to the novice in the symbolical process of blowing on the eyes or into the mouth of the recipient. In some instances the elder Shaman stabs the novice with a knife previously plunged into his own body.[1]

Among the Gilyak, a Shaman has unlimited power. Sternberg [2] was told by a Gilyak Shaman that before entering on his vocation he had been very ill for two months, during which time he was unconscious, lying quite motionless. Sometimes he almost regained consciousness, but sank into a swoon again, whereupon a bird spirit said, "Make yourself a drum and all that pertains to a Shaman, beat the drum and sing songs." The Shaman described himself as "carried off by the evil spirits," during which process he felt intoxicated and benumbed, but remained sufficiently rational to

[1] Czaplicka's "Aboriginal Siberia," p. 181. Compare with projection of stones from body of tutor to novice, Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. ii, p. 336.

[2] L. Sternberg, "The Gilyak," pp. 72–4.

remember the command of a spirit protector, who said, "If you see anyone ill, cure him."

Koinet, a boy of twelve years of age, son of a famous Shaman who claimed possession of four souls, for mountains, sea, sky, and underworld, said that the power of Shamanising came upon him during sleep. It was during this heavy slumber that the spirits had appeared to him, saying, "We used to play with your father, let us play with you also."

Among the Yakut,[1] the old Shaman leads his pupil up a high mountain or into a clearing in the forest. Here he dresses him in a Shaman's garment, gives him a rattle, and places on one side of him nine chaste youths, and on the other side nine chaste maidens.[2]

Following this the instructing Shaman robes himself and directs the youth to repeat after him certain formulæ. The novice is expected to renounce all worldly pleasures that are most dear to him, in order that he may consecrate his life to the service of spirits who will obey his call. The dwelling place of certain black spirits is disclosed to the novice, who learns also what diseases are caused by the activities of such spirits, and how these malevolent beings may be propitiated by offerings, spells, or incantations. Finally, the young Shaman is expected to sprinkle himself with the blood of an animal that he himself has sacrificed to the spirits, and all persons present make a sacramental meal of the flesh; apparently an instance of a blood sacrifice being selected as a bond of union between the Shaman, who represents what is mundane, and the spirits of another realm.

The Buryat [3] people when selecting a youth for training endeavour to find a boy who, absorbed in meditation, absents himself from other young people in order to wander

[1] Czaplicka's "Aboriginal Siberia," p. 185.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 185. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 185.

in solitude. Such a youth is often found to be haunted by mysterious dreams, or to be suffering from intermittent fits of trance, and when such phenomena are present there is promise of Shamanistic power. Abnormal psychic phenomena are thought to be due to the soul of the boy having departed from the body, in order to enter the dwelling place of spirits, where instruction is given by the souls of deceased medicine men. During this visit the soul of the novice is expected to remember the names of gods, their dwelling places, their relative power and importance, also the means by which each may be propitated.

Presently the soul returns to the body of the novice, who becomes moody, easily excited into a state of ecstasy, and apt to wander in solitude. Usually the boy visits the top of a high mountain, where, in front of a great fire, he calls upon the spirits who cause him to fall into a swoon. Friends of the youth watch unobstrusively in order to prevent the exercise of suicidal tendencies, which are very common among young Shamans. A sacrificial animal is provided, either by the near relatives of the boy or by the community in order to propitiate the spirits.

The consecration of a young Shaman is carried out by an experienced medicine man aided by nine assistants.[1] In fact, the number nine appears to be of special importance, for there are nine saplings placed in the ground, nine posts to which the sacrificial animals are tied, and nine pots for cooking the sacrificial meal. One part of the ceremony consists of the making of a " hell broth " similar to that prepared by the witches in " Macbeth." Water is heated, and to this are added bark, herbs, hair from the ears of a he goat, and shavings from the horns and hoofs of an animal. When these ingredients have been boiled the water is ready for a consecrating ceremony, and the flesh of the goat is eaten by women.

[1] Czaplicka's " Aboriginal Siberia," pp. 186–7.

An elderly medicine man summons the Shamanistic ancestors of the novice and offers libations of wine to them. He dips a birch broom in the pot and uses it for beating the novice on the naked back, a process which, much to the discomfort of the novice, is repeated by each of the nine assistants. Meanwhile the following salutary advice is given, and it is to be observed that the social and altruistic aspects of the Shamanistic calling are herein emphasised :—

" When thou art called to a poor man ask little in return for your trouble. Take care of the poor, help them, and pray to the gods to defend them against evil spirits. If thou art called to a poor man go to him riding on a bullock, and do not ask much for your trouble. If thou art called by a rich man and a poor man at the same time go to the poor first." [1]

The candidate is required to repeat these maxims slowly and at the same time swears to observe them punctiliously. The union of the young Shaman with his spiritual helpers is ratified by pouring out a libation of milk and wine and the procedure is closed, though there is an annual purification ceremony, and at new moon a rite is performed in order to purge the Shaman from defilement.

In his capacity of priest a Shaman knows the will of the gods, for did he not retire to the solitude of the mountains and learn it during trance? The will of the gods he declares to his fellow men, advising and cautioning them with regard to ceremonials and sacrifice. When functioning as a physician the medicine man drives from the patient evil spirits of disease and in this official capacity he is bound to consider poor and rich alike.

In the final aspect of his triple capacity the Shaman, acting as prophet, foretells the future, perhaps by entering into trance vision after much singing and drum beating, or possibly he speaks after observation of the detailed structure

[1] Czaplicka's " Aboriginal Siberia," p. 182.

of the shoulder-blade of a sheep, or divines by watching the flight of arrows.

Shamans who function as prophet, priest, and physician are concerned with the welfare of the community, and during training, as through life, the medicine man exhibits unselfish qualities, though he gains, of course, in influence and power within his community. Such Shamans, known as "well minded," are distinguished by a red coat, from the black-coated or mischievous medicine men usually designated by the equivalent of our word "mocking." In the adoption of these different garments there is an interesting analogy with previously noted practices of assuming body paints of different colours thought to be appropriate for specific magical purposes.

In connection with the data concerning the medicine men of Australia, we had to note the existence of practitioners whose skill and prestige varied according to the school of initiation and the importance of the spirits concerned.[1] Similarly among the Yakut Shamans [2] of Siberia practitioners may be connected with spiritual helpers of varying standing. There are the "amagyat" or guardian spirits of every Shaman, the "yekua" spirits, carefully concealed among the mountains, and the "kaliany," which are of special assistance to the Shaman during his public performances.

At the approach of the warm season when snows begin to melt the "yekua" rise from their hiding places, wander, and begin to fight. It is at this period that the nervous reactions of the Shaman are most violent and he begins to feel very ill. "Yekua" may be regarded as the discarnate spirits of people and animals of various kinds. The "yekua" of females are regarded as very malign in their influence; those of dogs would tend to make the Shaman

[1] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," p. 334.
[2] Czaplicka's "Aboriginal Siberia," p. 182.

MEDICINE MEN AND SNAKE DANCERS OF THE MOQUIS OF ARIZONA.
(J. G. Bourke : "Snake Dance of the Moquis of Arizona." Messrs. Scribner's Sons, Ltd.)

weak and cowardly, while the "yekua" of bulls, stallions, elks, and black bears are extremely powerful. The power and manifestations of the Shaman are thought to depend on his alliance with one or other of these "yekua" or spiritual animal helpers. The novice is carefully selected and trained so that he may act as a mediary between the physical and spiritual worlds, and in the records of his professional performances there is constant reference to employment of acquired tutelary spirits.

An impressive ceremony described by Shklovsky[1] represents Ilighin, an accomplished prophet, saying, "Friends there will soon be a great change, whether for good or evil I do not know. I shall call upon my guardian spirit and ask him to take me on high in the western heavens, and there I shall inquire of the gods." Upon completing this exordium the Shaman retired to a bearskin rug in the corner of the hut, and as the whole company sat in the deepest gloom, elderly women, the usual assistants, prepared for the mystic service. First and foremost came the drum decorated with amuletic pieces of iron. Then the sacred robe covered with symbolical signs and tokens, also a neck ornament of mammoth ivory were produced, and from a remote hiding place was reverently brought forth a large bone fish which, suspended from the back of the medicine man, is supposed to act as attractive bait for the spirits.

The fire died down and darkness closed in on the company, then without warning the Shaman rose and quickly seized his drum. Louder and louder reverberated the sound until all shrank in terror, while above the thunderous noise could be heard the wizard's voice chanting: "Mighty master fulfil all my desires! Grant all my requests." Now according to popular belief the rolling notes of the drum had conducted the Shaman to the mountain tops of the western heaven, where dwells the terrible God Chapak, the

[1] "In Far North East Siberia," p. 155.

spirit of all diseases. Presently the Shaman crashed unconscious to the floor, an ill omen which filled all hearts with terror.

Assistants rattled bone castanets while they pronounced the sacred formula: "The heavy clouds roll, Chapak is coming, terrible as a homeless bear roaming in winter. Awake! Shaman!" When the fire was rekindled the Shaman executed in front of it a twirling dance with such continued vigour that his eyes became bloodshot and his lips foamed. Higher and higher he leaped into the air, uttering incomprehensible spells and invocations, then pausing suddenly in listening attitude with hand to ear, he said: "O friends, slavery and death await us in the future," after which ominous words he gave an account of strangers whose advent should make life hard and bitter.

The prophetic aspect of the Shaman's vocation is very pronounced in Siberian tribes, and although clinical power is attributed to him, his main function would appear to be a guarding of the community by pre-determination of events, as they are planned in an unseen world which he claims to attain in periods of ecstasy.

Africa.—A fascinating psychological study is provided by the so-called "inner voice," which is usually responsible for a novice's desire to enter the medical profession. The Akikuyu say that the man of God becomes so in response to a direct call which is frequently given in the form of an illness.[1] Routledge remarks: "Mundu informed us that when he was a young man he had been taken ill and the medicine man who was called in said that in the patient he saw something that indicated that he, too, was destined to become a medicine man." [2] The man who is called of God

[1] Routledge's "With a Prehistoric People" (the Akikuyu), p. 251. Compare with Czaplicka's "Aboriginal Siberia," p. 173.

[2] Routledge's "With a Prehistoric People," (the Akikuyu), p. 251. Compare with the instance of clairvoyance in a Wiradjuri boy, Howitt's "Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," p. 405.

dreams repeatedly that people are coming to him leading a goat, a not unnatural outcome of the sleeper's waking experience of presentations to medicine men, and the provision of a sacrificial animal. The deep sleep continues and God reveals events which are about to happen; so that in the sleep of inception there are indications of the twofold importance of the medical profession, namely, sacrifice and prophecy.

Apparently the calling is not necessarily hereditary, and the evidence indicates that although a father may teach God chooses. The evidence adduced with regard to the selection of candidates for the office of medicine man in Australian, Siberian, Vedda, or Guianan societies, shows that a *young* man is "called" by inner prompting; among the Akikuyu the candidate is probably a man in late middle life.[1] Retirement to the woods for a night, a practice objectionable to any Kikuyu, has to be endured by the candidate. But there is no evidence of nocturnal experiences comparable to those of the Australian youth who lies at the mouth of the cave inhabited by a class of spirits named "Iruntarinia."[2] With the Akikuyu, "initiation into the mysteries associated with certain medicines, and into the art of divination by numbers, is a public ceremony." The extent to which the public participate in knowledge imparted to the candidate is not clear, possibly the ceremony is a formal introduction of the practitioner to his future clients. The medicine man of Central Australia makes a formal début in a special garb of paint which announces his graduation.[3]

A consideration of the selection and status of medicine men in a South African tribe, the Ba Thonga, reveals several points which are in accordance with the general beliefs and

[1] Routledge's "With a Prehistoric People" (the Akikuyu), p. 251.
[2] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," p. 334 *et seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 335. "One morning he appears with a broad band of fat and charcoal across the nose and it is recognised that he has graduated."

practices of primitive races; and in addition there is one unusual feature, namely, the high degree of specialisation practised by medicine men, each of whom claims ability to deal with certain complaints. The prestige of any witch doctor is directly proportional to the pathological difficulties connected with the disease or infirmity over which he claims control.[1] There is also a periodical renewal, by ritual, of the efficacy of curative drugs.

In common with all medicine men, the practitioner of the Ba Thonga tribe is extremely proud of his knowledge, which is carefully preserved and communicated from father to son, or from a practitioner to his nephew. A most interesting point which determines the adoption of the magico-medical profession is the alleged "call"; a man must be "induced by his heart" to study curative medicine, a condition which is reminiscent of the Siberian Shaman, who is called by the voice of spirits whom he dare not disobey, likewise of the Vedda, who is selected by the "yaku," or of the Arunta youth of Central Australia, who feels inward promptings urging him to undergo the privations of special initiation.[2]

Junod states that: "We may well assert that up to a certain point the blacks do possess an ars medica," and a consideration of the detailed classification of drugs used by the Ba Thonga substantiates the claim.[3] Cupping and vapour baths are used, the latter as a physical means of treating disease which has resulted from violation of taboo. Nervous disorders are greatly feared, melancholia is attri-

[1] Junod's "The Life of a South African Tribe" (the Ba Thonga), vol. ii, p. 414. Compare with Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. ii, p. 334. The prestige of the Arunta medicine man apparently depends mainly on the *kind* of initiation, of which there are three varieties.

[2] Junod's "The Life of a South African Tribe" (the Ba Thonga), vol. ii, p. 414; Czaplicka's "Aboriginal Siberia," p. 173; Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. ii, p. 334; Seligman and Seligman's "The Veddas of Ceylon," pp. 128–30.

[3] Junod's "The Life of a South African Tribe" (the Ba Thonga), vol. ii, p. 425.

buted to the influence of evil spirits who are dispersed by ritual music and dancing. Idiocy has no remedy, nothing can be done for the sufferer whom death has found.[1]

A belief in the magical origin of disease by spirit possession, or the evil eye, naturally leads to the use of divination of the cause usually by casting small bones, from the shapes and arrangement of which conclusions are drawn respecting the malady and its curative treatment. The use of drastic purgatives is common; Eliasib almost killed his patients with a drug made from the bark of a tree, but the people who came to him had great faith because the drug came from a distant land.[2] Spencer and Gillen remark on the credulity and implicit faith of patients who seek the aid of a medicine man from afar when their malady proves obstinate.[3] Naturally the curative effect of auto-suggestion is enhanced by mystery implying hidden clinical power; the familiar and commonplace are impotent. Primitive surgery of the Ba Thonga doctor is drastic and painful, though the knife is seldom used. A sore is said to heal if concealed from the patient, accordingly the usual treatment is repeated dusting with black powder, which merely aggravates the wound and retards repair of the tissues. Applications of hot ashes, or the sole of a foot which has been pressed on a heated hoe, is a more rational procedure despite its crudity.[4]

Bruises are treated by sympathetic magic. A part of the ground made hot with glowing embers is cooled with sand, and the patient is instructed to lean over the place so treated. Just as the soil has been burned but quenched by an application of cool sand, so will the inflammation of the bruise subside.[5]

[1] Junod's "The Life of a South African Tribe" (the Ba Thonga), vol. ii, p. 424.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 414. Compare Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. ii, p. 351.

[3] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. ii, pp. 339–40.

[4] Junod's "The Life of a South African Tribe" (the Ba Thonga), vol. ii, p. 419.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 419.

Snake-bite is treated by a homœopathic method. A powder prepared from snake which has been burnt to ashes is inserted in incisions at the joints and neck of the patient. Children are inoculated in this manner and people say: "The doctor has preceded the snake." [1] Dentistry is of the roughest kind, and it is no uncommon thing for the patient's jaw to be fractured by beating down of the decayed tooth with a piece of iron.[2] The clients of a South African medicine man obviously need great faith and power of auto-suggestion to effect a recovery.

Anthropological evidence respecting the ubiquitous medicine man has no abundance of detail respecting the specialisation of practitioners. For the Ba Thonga, however, there are clear indications that a witch doctor may confine himself to the treatment of infants or purification of the mother after delivery of twins, which are abhorred.[3] Treatment of leprosy is relegated to a highly trained specialist who is eminent among men of his profession, and there is evidence that the lore of therapeutics is handed down for many generations, if suitable payment is made by the novice. A most distinguished Ba Thonga medicine man said: "It is no play what I am doing, I gave my maternal uncle even two oxen, and he taught me his medical art. He then led me everywhere showing me all his craft." [4] So Mankhelu became a regular "nanga," or curative doctor in addition to being a diviner, master in the art of throwing bones, a rain maker, councillor and general of the army.[5] In the last-named capacity prophecy concerning the disposition of the enemy's troops would be necessary, a probable issue of the conflict would be fore-

[1] Junod's "The Life of a South African Tribe" (the Ba Thonga), vol. ii, p. 419.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 419.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 394.

[4] Medicine men among the Veddas are in some instances trained and initiated by the maternal uncle, Seligman and Seligman's "The Veddas of Ceylon," p. 128.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 415.

Dancing Men of the Loango Coast.
They have scarcely the status of a tribal medicine man.
(F. Ratzel: "The History of Mankind.")

A Zulu Witch Doctor.

(F. Ratzel : "The History of Mankind.")

told, and essential restrictions for warriors might be prescribed; hence we see in Mankhelu an example of the omnipotent medicine man. Such a general practitioner would doubtless be trained in the use of "male" and "female" drugs, the latter for curing disease, the former for vitalising soldiers and their assagais. To such a man the use of special drugs for inducing the enemy to sleep, also for vanquishing foes and misfortune, must be fully understood, and as a consequence of his specialised yet multiple knowledge, power among the tribesmen was immense.[1]

A medicine man as above described provides a useful illustration of a practitioner acting in a strong social capacity, as opposed to the anti-social aspect of the craft, which may be applied to assist an individual client to the detriment of his enemy.

The annual Ba Thonga festival, at which the power of drugs is renewed, further illustrates the social side of the medicine man's vocation; and simultaneously it indicates that the power of the medicine is dependent on magical formulæ, not merely on natural qualities of the drugs administered. The psychological value of suggestion is appreciated by the primitive medicine man to an extent which is not yet understood by modern practitioners in a civilised community. Nevertheless, the science of psychotherapeutics is making headway, and will, no doubt, attract the attention which its curative power deserves.

When the Ba Thonga drugs are "renewed" in a non-material sense, the pounders and cutters are elected by divination with bones, and the social aspect of the processes is emphasised by assembly of the whole village population, who inhale the fumes of roasting medicines.[2] During sacrifice of a goat the medicine man addresses prayers to the

[1] Junod's "The Life of a South African Tribe," vol. ii, p. 415.

[2] *Ibid.*

gods, and especially to the ancestor who taught him his science. Hence it is cogent to assume that this public endowment of drugs with new strength is a religious festival characterised by sacrifice and prayer, during which the medicine man functions as a priest.[1]

This question of reliance on spiritual aid is aptly illustrated by McClintock's evidence respecting the procedure of medicine men among the Blackfeet Indians.[2] The wife of the medicine man assists in diagnosis; a co-partnership of husband and wife which is favoured by the Indians of Guiana,[3] but not commonly adopted among primitive races. The medicine man's wife in the Blackfoot tribe places the pot of herbs on a pine log fire from which smoke ascends in great volume. Placing her hands in the smoke the woman prays to the Buffalo Spirit, asking that she may be blessed with power to diagnose the disease, which is located by the usual method of manipulation and massage. Herbal concoctions are prepared, but their efficacy has to be established by the prayer: "Hear us, Great Spirit, in the sun. Pity us and help us! Listen and grant us life. Look down in pity on this sick man, grant us power to drive out the evil spirit and give him health."[4] At this point the medicine man raises his drum, an application of the hot stone is made, the patient is sprayed with yellow paint, and eagles' wings are beaten, possibly to signify the departure of the demon of disease. According to the description given by Sir E. im Thurn, the Macusi medicine man of Guiana, assisted by his wife, waves palm leaves to signify the arrival or departure of spirits. "Every now and then, through the mad din there was a sound at first low and indistinct, then gathering in volume as if some big winged thing came from afar, toward the house, passed through the roof then settled

[1] Junod's "The Life of a South African Tribe," vol. ii, p. 415.
[2] "The Old North Trail," p. 248.
[3] im Thurn's "The Indians of Guiana," p. 337.
[4] McClintock's "The Old North Trail," p. 248.

heavily on the floor." [1] Each "kenaima" (demon) promised not to trouble the patient again, then flew away with much rustling.

The appeal of the primitive medicine man for spiritual aid is logical in view of the fact that disease is rarely, if ever, ascribed to natural pathological causes. Non-human disturbances obviously require more than material treatment, therefore the demon of disease is expelled by ritual, spell, sacrifice, and prayer, in all of which the medicine man plays the important rôle of chief priest.

Miss M. H. Kingsley [2] states that a boy who sees spirits during his initiation to a secret society is brought up to the medical profession and is apprenticed to a witch doctor, to whom a substantial fee is paid. From his tutor the boy learns the difference between good and evil spirits. He is taught to howl in a particular manner, also to imitate the professional manner of his instructor. A boy who is subject to epileptic fits is regarded as a pupil likely to succeed if he can interest himself in all details relating to the daily life of his clients. A knowledge which surprises the patient induces great faith and a willingness to pay high fees for the treatment of a malady or the destruction of an enemy.

It is quite probable that the alleged power of the witch doctor in detecting crime has a beneficial social effect. "There can be no doubt that the witch doctor's methods of finding out who has poisoned a person are effective, and that the knowledge in the public mind of this detective power keeps down poisoning to a great extent.[3] A person suspected by the witch doctor of causing the death of a tribesman has to resort to the poison ordeal.[4]

When dealing with sickness in any form a medicine man assumes that the magic of an enemy is responsible, and the

[1] im Thurn's "Among the Indians of Guiana," p. 336.
[2] "West African Studies," London, 1901, p. 181.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 185. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 411.

instance of treatment given to patients near Loango illustrates the concept and method of primitive practitioners in general. Here an emetic is given, and young crocodiles are said to be found in the consequences. On one occasion the emetic resulted in the appearance of a strange little animal that grew with visible rapidity until strong enough to fly away. The creature had the wings of a bat on the body of a lizard, and the medicine man alleged that the creature had been introduced into the food of the patient by a powerful enemy.[1] This healing of patients by suggesting the removal of the cause of pain is paralleled in Australia, where the medicine man claims to have extracted quartz or wood,[2] and in Guiana, where the practitioner shows the sick man a caterpillar taken from the seat of pain.[3] The curative power of suggestion is skilfully set to work by this ostentatious removal of palpable causes of suffering.

The possibilities of anti-social action on the part of the medicine man are illustrated by his willingness to accept payment for using malevolent magic for the discomfort of private individuals. A man seeks to injure his enemy by bribing the local witch doctor to drive a nail into an image, an action which is supposed to cause death to the foe by a process of sympathetic magic. The tribesman against whom this action is directed on hearing what course has been taken, offers a high bribe to the medicine man on condition that the nail is removed. Relatives of a man who has been killed by such means will, in all probability, visit the witch doctor for the purpose of offering bribes, so that the nail may be removed from the juyu image, and so the curse may be prevented from falling on themselves.[4]

In such instances the malignant action of the medicine

[1] Kingsley's "West African Studies," p. 181.
[2] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," pp. 336, 339, 347.
[3] im Thurn's "Among the Indians of Guiana," p. 336.
[4] Kingsley's "West African Studies," p. 410.

practitioner is comparable with the anti-social action of the Australian medicine man who assists a client to encompass the death of an enemy by following him and extracting fat from the kidneys.[1] The Buryats of Siberia have well-recognised "mocking" Shamans, whose function is inimical to the best interests of society.[2]

Summary of Evidence Relating to the Specialised Vocation of Medicine Man

The selection, training, and practice of medicine men in primitive tribes affords an illustration of the recognition and utilisation of special natural abilities. Although there is a general respect for old men so long as they can serve their group, and chiefs, warriors, adept hunters, dancers, or musicians may command special regard, there is in primitive tribes a tendency towards uniformity and mediocre ability. The extent to which individual merit has an opportunity of asserting itself in the social life of primitive man is a problem which has not received adequate attention from the anthropologist. On the whole, the system of training and the imposition of ancient customs, all of which are deemed sacred, tends to repress any moulding influence which an individual of strong character might exert over the progress of the group to which he belongs.

The medicine man is, however, an exception to the general rule, and in our consideration of his "call" to the vocation, innate qualities required, initiation and training given, also specialisation of function, be it social or anti-social, we have an interesting psychological study of encouragement of special abilities.

The Vocational "Call."—A most important factor in the selective process is the inner prompting of intensely strong

[1] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. ii, pp. 354–5.

[2] W. Borgoras, "The Chukchee," Irkutsk, 1899, p. 430; Reports of Jesup Expedition. Mem. American Museum Natural History, New York.

subconscious ideas, or in the words of the novices themselves, the call of spirits whom they dare not disobey. A native of Central Australia feels a prompting from his inner consciousness before he is initiated by sleeping at the mouth of the cave inhabited by " Iruntarinia " spirits.[1] The Yuin boy described by Dr. Howitt " began to see ghosts before his inception." [2] Food restrictions are necessary, likewise other prohibitions to prevent the native of Central Australia from losing his psychic power. Should the special qualities desert a medicine man he retires from the profession.[3]

The whole of Miss Czaplicka's evidence respecting Shamen of Siberia illustrates the importance of the call.[4] Jochelson in " The Koryak " makes clear that the novice is bidden by an inner voice to enter the profession.[5] A young Yakut stated that for nine years he struggled with himself, during which time he could see and hear things which were not recognised by the senses of ordinary people. The call to spirit service may come during a time of exceptional danger. Such was the case of Katek, who was carried away on an ice floe. He was about to kill himself when the head of a walrus appeared and sang " O Katek, do not kill yourself, you shall again see the mountains of Unisak, and the little Kuwakak your son." When Katek returned home safely he made a sacrifice to the head of the walrus and from that time he was a Shaman much respected and very famous among his neighbours.[6] Apparently the spirits not only call to the profession, but dictate the procedure of a Shaman, whose death is certain should his acts not be in harmony with the commands of his spiritual masters. Many traditions exist respecting the

[1] Spencer and Gillen's " Across Australia," vol. ii, p. 334.
[2] Howitt's " Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," p. 405.
[3] Spencer and Gillen's " Across Australia," vol. ii, p. 336.
[4] " Aboriginal Siberia," p. 169.
[5] " The Koryak," p. 47 *et seq.*
[6] Bogoras's " The Chukchee," p. 421.

vengeance of spirits whose dictates had not been obeyed.[1] Among Tungus a dead Shaman appears in the dream of a novice and commands the youth to become his successor.[2] Altaians believe that no one becomes a Shaman of his own free will; it is said that the ancestor spirit leaps upon him, commands him to enter the Shamanistic profession, and strangles him in case of resistance.[3] Bogoras states that some young men so fear the call that they prefer death to obedience.[4] A sensitive youth of the Gilyak tribe fell into a trance in which a "bird" spirit said:—"Make yourself a drum and all that pertains to a Shaman. Beat the drum and sing songs; if you see anyone ill, cure him."[5]

L. Sternberg gives a further account of the call to Shamanistic practices. Koinit, a boy of twelve, fell into a deep sleep during which the spirits said: "We used to play with your father, let us play with you also."[6] The Akikuyu say that the medicine man becomes such in response to a direct call frequently given in the form of illness during which the patient "sees things" that indicate his latent power as a witch doctor. The call may take the form of dreams indicating that people of the tribe are bringing a goat to sacrifice.[7] The Akikuyu are of the opinion that a father has the responsibility of teaching, but God chooses and calls the novice.[8] Ba Thonga people believe that a man must be "induced by his heart" to take up the vocation of medicine man.[9] Miss M. H. Kingsley states that the call of a boy to the witch doctor's profession takes the form of seeing spirits during his initiation into an ordinary secret society.[10]

[1] Jochelson's "The Koryak, p. 417.
[2] Czaplicka's "Aboriginal Siberia," p. 177.
[3] L. Wierbicki, "The Natives of the Altai," p. 44.
[4] "The Chukchee," p. 450.
[5] Sternberg's "The Gilyak," pp. 72–4.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 72.
[7] Routledge's "With a Prehistoric People" (the Akikuyu), p. 251.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 251.
[9] Junod's "The Life of a South African Tribe," vol. ii, p. 414.
[10] "West African Studies," p. 181.

The operation of subconscious ideas respecting a call given by spirits, and the complete ascendancy which these subconscious ideas, or hallucinations, gain over the normal psychic life is better understood when one examines details concerning the occupation of the medicine man. In the first place, the youth selected is abnormal, usually in the direction of such congenital defects as nervous instability or well-defined epilepsy. The occupation is hereditary as a rule, and the training of the novice is calculated to accentuate all peculiar innate nervous traits.

A youth of Central Australia selected for initiation into one of the three principal grades of medicine men must be silent, reserved, and of neurotic temperament.[1] Indians of Guiana prefer an epileptic youth as a candidate for the position of medicine man.[2]

The word "Saman," now translated "Shaman," is of Manchu origin, implying one who is excited, moved, raised, and the essential characteristic of Siberian novices is liability to nervous ecstasy and trance. Training secures control over fits of Arctic hysteria so that the operative can at will give exhibitions which impress an audience.[3] M. H. Kingsley states that the boy most likely to be successful is one with an epileptic tendency. If he has had fits so much the greater are his qualifications for the position of witch doctor.

Abnormal mental traits are of direct service to the medicine man whose success depends very largely on his ability to impress patients or clients who seek a revelation respecting the future. The typical medicine man is silent, even morose; he has peculiar restless eyes in which the glint of madness is discernible, and at all times he is a sensitive man, that is, he appreciates very quickly any

[1] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. ii, p. 336.
[2] Whiffen's "The North-west Amazons," p. 181.
[3] Czaplicka's "Aboriginal Siberia," p. 198.

changes in the psychic atmosphere.[1] When acting as a physician, the tribal doctor has to employ his power of suggestion to the utmost in order to effect a cure. His manner is impressive, suggestive of a fund of reserve power and resource, and in acts of conjuring, which, combined with ventriloquism, form an important part of his youthful training, the medicine man can simulate the voice of spirits, or produce objects which are alleged to have been injected into the vitals of the sufferer by a malignant enemy.[2]

Contact with Spirit Helpers and Solitude of Initiation.— Initiation into the brotherhood of medicine men necessitates contact with spirit helpers, who can be courted only in secrecy. From these sources the Shaman, medicine man, or witch doctor derives his power, though for details of instruction he relies upon the tuition of his father or maternal uncle.

An Arunta boy in response to inward prompting repairs by night to the entrance of a cave said to be inhabited by "Iruntarinia" spirits. There he falls into a deep sleep and is carried into the dwelling by the "Iruntarinia," who communicate their power by launching darts into his body, also by providing him with a new set of internal organs.[3] Seclusion and hunger are the lot of a boy of Guiana who wishes to become a medicine man.[4] The Chukchee describe the period of initiation by a phrase which means "he gathers Shamanistic power," that is, power of healing, chiefly by suggestion, power of controlling hysteria, also prophetic vision. Isolation is essential, and lonely wanderings among hills and forests are

[1] Bogoras's "The Chukchee," p. 417. Peculiar appearance of Shaman.

[2] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. ii, pp. 336, 339; cf. im Thurn's "Among the Indians of Guiana," p. 335; Shklovsky's "In Far North East Siberia," p. 155.

[3] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. ii, pp. 334–6.

[4] im Thurn's "Among the Indians of Guiana," p. 335.

part of the training of all Siberian Shamanistic novices.[1] The woods by night are a source of terror to the Akikuyu, but the youth who aspires to the position of witch doctor has to endure the solitude of a tropical forest for at least one night.

This enforced solitude is not merely a test of physical courage and endurance. Hunger, thirst, and privation lead to trance and ecstatic vision. The spirits communicate their wishes, and, what is more important, supply the power necessary for giving effect to these. A novice of the Veddas acquires his power from the "Yaku" or spirits, but in this instance there is a formal introduction of the boy by an elderly medicine man, who offers an apology to the occult forces.[2] The whole evidence respecting training of medicine men indicates that primitive man has the greatest dread of the forces with which he is to collaborate, and the whole process of initiation by solitude, instruction, tuition by elder men, food restrictions, and physical pain, all serve the one end, namely, a co-operation with non-human forces which may, if incautiously approached, prove prejudicial to the practitioner himself. The Macusi medicine man enters into intimate contact with "Kenaimas," demons who are responsible for all forms of disease. These he can command to enter the room of his patient, and there he harangues them, extracting a promise that they will not return to molest the sick man.[3]

The relationship of the medicine man to his familiar spirits is somewhat peculiar, but not unlike the attitude of primitive people in general toward circumstances and agencies which are not understood. A boy may be afraid of the spirits, yet he believes that to a certain extent he can

[1] Czaplicka's "Aboriginal Siberia," p. 178.
[2] Seligman and Seligman's "The Veddas of Ceylon," p. 129.
[3] im Thurn's "Among the Indians of Guiana," p. 335.

control them if he has been properly initiated, instructed, and mindful of his food taboos. The witch doctor is possessed by spirit, but such possession gives him command over minor powers, as, for example, demons of disease. The Ostiak Shaman may sell his spirit. After receiving payment, he parts his hair and fixes the time when the spirit is to pass to its new master.[1] This self-assertion is rarely carried to such an extent as among the Ostiak, nevertheless, in the numerous instances of instruction of the novice by a father, maternal uncle, or unrelated elder, we have an implied authority for the imparting of non-human power.

Tuition of the Novice.—The Arunta[2] novice relies primarily for power on contact with spirits, but from other medicine men he learns the secret of his craft, namely, the production of pebbles or pieces of stick and bone from his person. He also cultivates the habit of looking preternaturally solemn.

Elderly Australian medicine men are responsible for projecting magical crystals, or "atnongara," into the body of the novice.[3] A novice of the Wiradyuri tribe said "My father is a Lizard Man. When I was a small boy he took me into the bush to train me to be a doctor." The statement proceeds to give an account of the manner in which the elder man pressed crystals into the body of his pupil so that the latter might possess power of extracting materials from the body of a sick man. "It was after that I used to see things that my mother could not see. When out with her I would say: 'What is out there like men walking?' She used to say: 'Child, there is nothing.' These were the ghosts which I began to see."[4] Following these statements there is an account

[1] I. Bielayewski, "A Journey to the Glacial Sea," Moscow, 1883, pp. 113–4.
[2] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. ii, p. 336.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 337.
[4] Howitt's "Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," p. 406.

of the boy's experience when alone in the bush. There the youth was visited by his father, who taught him to bring crystals from his own mouth. He showed the boy a dead man, who awoke and rubbed the novice to make him clever. Father and son then followed their familiar, a snake, which led them through hollow tree trunks right into the presence of the high God Baiame.

As a rule, each medicine man of the Veddas is responsible for the initiation of his successor, in all probability his own son, or the child of his sister. The elder man's whole duty is to teach the boy how to make offerings to, and secure the aid of, the " Yaku " or spirits. These " Yaku " are friendly if approached with the proper formula. They may then be relied upon to give information with regard to the proximity of game and honey. Here the initiation appears to be of a simple character, devoid of the more complex psychic experiences, and calculated merely to place the novice on friendly terms with the spirits.[1]

Among the Macusi of Guiana the medicine man is responsible for training the novice in sleight of hand, ventriloquism, and drinking narcotics, all of which practices enter into a performance for gaining control over the " kenaimas " or demons of disease.[2] Whiffen, speaking for the same area, says: " The eldest son, if efficient, succeeds the father," who is responsible for teaching tribal lore, ventriloquism, and conjuring. The boy is thought to be suitable as a candidate for the office of medicine man if he is hairy, so that he may transfer his soul to the body of a puma. A youth aspiring to the doctor's position should also be of epileptic tendency, so that he may impress an audience by his emotional instability and trance.[3]

Among the Yakut, the elder Shaman leads his pupil into a high mountain, or to a clearing in the forest. Here

[1] Seligman and Seligman's " The Veddas of Ceylon," pp. 128–30.
[2] im Thurn's " Among the Indians of Guiana," p. 336.
[3] " The North-west Amazons," p. 181.

the novice is dressed in a Shaman's garment, receives a rattle, and is set in the midst of nine chaste youths and nine chaste maidens. The boy has to promise to renounce all worldly pleasure and devote himself entirely to the spirits, who will then obey his call. The bond of union between the novice and his familiars is ratified by sprinkling the youth with the blood of an animal sacrificed to the spirits.[1]

A most distinguished Ba Thonga medicine man said: "It is no play what I am doing, I gave my maternal uncle even two oxen, and he taught me his medical art. He then led me everywhere, showing me all his craft." [2] This in the case of the Ba Thonga would include divination by casting bones, rain-making, prophesying in time of war, and curing the sick.

M. H. Kingsley states that apprenticeship to a witch doctor involves payment of a substantial fee, for which the boy is taught to distinguish between good and evil spirits. The novice is taught to howl, to "smell out" a culprit guilty of theft or murder, also to imitate the professional manner and methods of his instructor in curing disease.[3]

Evidence supplied by J. H. Weeks indicates that there are cases in which medicine men try to keep the prerogative within the family. Hence there are conditions of entry which vary, first, for the aspirant who is in a family in which there has been a medicine man, secondly, for an "outsider" who has no connection with a family from which a medicine man has been derived.

The general rule in primitive races has already been noted, namely, the transfer of power from father to son, from maternal uncle to nephew, or from medicine man to any appropriate candidate. Individuality and innate ability

[1] N. Pripuzoff, "Materials for Study of Shamanism among the Yakut," 1884, pp. 64–5.

[2] Junod's "The Life of a South African Tribe," vol. ii, p. 415.

[3] "West African Studies," p. 181.

have their opportunity in the medical profession among primitive races. But Rev. Weeks tells us that: "If an outsider wants to join the profession he must first kill all the members of his family by witchcraft." The aspirant has the decency to refuse compliance, hence the secrets of the medical profession are retained in a few families.[1]

On the contrary, a youth in whose family there has been a medicine man is admitted on payment of a heavy fee, in return for which he is taught how to pass a simple examination in finding lost articles and killing an animal possessed with spirit. The evidence of jealousy respecting medicinal lore, and refusal to admit a so-called "outsider," would be stronger if more details of tribes and localities were given.

Evidence showing a direct transfer of power from instructor to pupil is of exceptional interest, because of the way in which the transfer of qualities is carried out. There is, of course, an imparting of knowledge by direct verbal instruction, but in addition to this a symbolic transfer of power is in most instances made to the pupil.

Transfer of Psychic Power.—Australian medicine men of the central region stand away from the novice and go through the motion of projecting stones into his body. In this manner they communicate their own power of bringing up crystals.[2] This projection of crystals from a distance is a performance undertaken by a doctor at the bedside of a patient.[3] During ordinary initiation ceremonies in South-east Australia, old men standing a distance from the novices pretend to take something from their own bodies. This invisible quality or power is thrown toward the youths, who go through the movements of hauling in a rope.[4]

Some Siberian Shamans blow on to the eyes or into the

[1] Rev. John H. Weeks, "Among Congo Cannibals," London, 1913, p. 276.
[2] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. ii, p. 337.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 339.
[4] Howitt's "Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," p. 535.

mouth of a novice whom they are instructing. A more violent way of communicating power is adopted by the Shaman, who stabs the candidate with a knife previously plunged into his own body.[1]

All the foregoing examples imply the imparting of something more than information which can be conveyed by word of mouth. Spell, formulæ, tribal tradition, knowledge of curative drugs, and magical potions are all part of the medicine man's professional equipment, but there is, in addition to these essentials, the mystic power, the psychic force, and suggestion, which have to be communicated in order to make the novice successful.

The way to efficiency as a medicine man appears to lie along the road of privation, self-denial, and physical suffering, exactly as we found in the case of boys who are passing from puberty to manhood. And in general conception, likewise in all important procedure, initiation into tribal life recalls the facts relating to preparation of medicine men.

Penalties and Restrictions.—Food taboos, absolute hunger, and physical pain caused by boring a hole in the tongue are experienced by the Australian novice who wishes to graduate in the " Iruntarinia," a powerful school of spirits.[2] A ban of silence is imposed until the tongue is healed, and even after graduation the medicine man may lose power and have to retire should he drink hot water or be bitten by a black ant.[3] During training, the Vedda pupil has to observe restrictions of diet. Rice, coconuts, and pork are all forbidden, while the youth must be careful to avoid eating fowl in the manner adopted by the Shaman himself. This last precaution is in accordance with the explanation given to the " Yaku," or spirits, who are care-

[1] Czaplicka's " Aboriginal Siberia," p. 181.
[2] Spencer and Gillen's " Across Australia," vol. ii, pp. 337–8.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 336.

fully informed that the novice does not pretend to be a qualified medicine man, he is merely under instruction.[1] In Guiana, a boy enduring solitude in the forest has likewise to depend on food supplies of a casual kind.[2] Similarly, in Siberia a novice aspiring to the post of Shaman is obliged to sleep in the snow for days, and during initiation he may be beaten with rods.[3]

Disparate Status of Medicine Men.—Although special mental qualities are recognised as a primary qualification for the post of medicine man in primitive society, it by no means follows that all medicine men are of the same grade, enjoying equal emoluments and social status.

The Arunta of Central Australia recognise three distinct schools of initiation. First, there are novices who graduate in the "Iruntarinia" society of spirits who inhabit caves. Secondly, candidates may pass through ceremonies entitling them to belong to the "Oruncha," a group of mischievous spirits. Third in order of importance come the class of doctors who are entirely reliant on other medicine men for initiation and public recognition. The difference lies in method of initiation and social status after graduation, for in Central Australian society the medicine man receives no material reward.[4]

Among the Chukchee, Bogoras never met Shamans who could be said to live solely on the profits of the art; rewards given were merely an additional source of income.[5] A novice of the Gilyak heard the spirits say to him: "If you see anyone ill, cure him"; there is no mention of reward.[6] Yakut people certainly recognise grades of power among Shamans. "Amagyat" is a spiritual power which comes to every Shaman on initiation, "yekua,"

[1] Seligman and Seligman's "The Veddas of Ceylon," p. 129.
[2] im Thurn's "Among the Indians of Guiana," p. 335.
[3] Czaplicka's "Aboriginal Siberia," pp. 179, 186, 187.
[4] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," pp. 334–6, 339.
[5] "The Chukchee," p. 417. [6] Sternberg's "The Gilyak," p. 72.

the spirit of an animal, may be exceedingly powerful, for example, in cases of the possession of a Shaman by the "yekua" of bulls and elks. Once a year when the snow melts "Yekua" rise from their hiding-places and begin to wander. They hold orgies of fights and the Shaman with whom they are connected begins to feel very ill. "Kaliany" is a form of possession which comes only during public performances.[1] The social status of the Shaman varies with the degree of possession by more or less powerful spirits, but there do not appear to be distinct types of initiation for securing the aid of these various grades of power. At a consecration ceremony the young Shaman is exhorted to make altruistic use of his talents by giving preference to the poor client.[2]

In Guiana the medicine man receives a material reward, but an influential position on the tribal council is the greater recompense.[3]

Ba Thonga medicine men take social precedence according to their ability to treat disease or remove impurity. Thus the specialist who treats leprosy ranks high in public esteem, so also does the medicine man who carries out purification after birth of twins.[4]

Witch doctors, of whom Miss M. H. Kingsley speaks, were extortionate in their demands, not so much for curing the sick perhaps, as for the supply of charms and amulets.[5] The African witch doctor is probably more mercenary than the generality of primitive medicine men, while the practitioner of Central Australia may be regarded as the least dependent on material rewards. Possibly this disparity of view respecting payments arises from the different economic levels of the respective societies.

Comparison of Puberty Rites and Initiation of Medicine

[1] Czaplicka's "Aboriginal Siberia," p. 182. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 186, 187.
[3] im Thurn's "Among the Indians of Guiana," p. 336.
[4] Junod's "The Life of a South African Tribe," vol. ii, p. 394.
[5] "West African Studies," p. 410.

Men.—In finally drawing together some evidence respecting the primitive medicine man, we have to consider how far this specialised education of certain gifted boys contributes to the well-being and social solidarity of the unit, also to what extent the vocation is pursued for purely selfish ends. In other words, what are the social and anti-social aspects of the education afforded to novices aspiring to the rank of medicine man? In what way does the initiation and practice of approved candidates correspond with or diverge from the ideals and methods relative to a general preparation of boys for tribal life?

There is between initiation into tribal life and admission to the status of medicine man a broad basic similarity. In each case the candidate has to be brought up to a standard of training which is attained by seclusion, privation, and direct instruction by elders. There is, however, this important difference, that whereas no special qualifications are required for the commencement of general initiation except the physical qualification of arrival at puberty, the novice who desires to commence a course of training for the post of medicine man has to receive a call from his own subconscious promptings, a call from the spirits who demand his services. In addition to this call, the youth is sometimes required to be of epileptic tendency, and relationship with a family from which a medicine man has been derived may be demanded. On the one hand, we have in tribal initiation a democratic institution to which all must submit, whereas in admission to the fellowship of medicine men there is evidence of a more conservative spirit in the demand for specialised qualifications and hereditary genius. All forms of initiation, whether into the tribe, secret society, or priesthood are connected, probably in the manner discussed in the opening pages of this chapter and those sections relating to tribal initiation of boys and girls.

Social and Anti-social Aspects of Initiation.—Each form

MEMBERS OF THE DUK-DUK.
A secret society of New Britain.
(*Photo : Rev. Dr. George Brown :* "Melanesians and Polynesians.")

of initiation has its social and anti-social aspects. Admission to tribal fellowship demands the observance of social laws and usages which preserve the solidarity of the unit. Individual fitness, self-restraint, and qualities of the hunter and fighter are all demanded so that they may be exercised for the general welfare, though the youth as a private person does derive benefit from the training which results in his social elevation from boyhood to manhood. In tribal initiation there is an anti-social aspect, for the novice may acquire a knowledge of magical practices which can be turned to account against a fellow tribesman. Secret societies, especially those of Melanesia, make their demands of self-restraint and physical efficiency which are of individual and social benefit, yet their anti-social action is often felt in the form of intimidation and bribery, especially toward non-members.

Likewise in considering the action of the initiated medicine man there is clear evidence of the altruistic and selfish aspects of the profession. When acting for the cure of patients by removal of demons of disease, or healing by suggestion, the medicine man is seen in a favourable social capacity, especially when no payment is demanded. The practitioner who throws stones to drive away a comet,[1] or marches round the village at night to scare away spirits,[2] again illustrates the use of special gifts for public protection. Finding a thief or murderer by divination, making prophecy respecting the presence of game, or the occurrence of an epidemic, prognosticating in time of war, making rain or wind, and learning the will of God by divination or sacrifice, must all be regarded as social obligations, in fulfilment of which the medicine man is performing a public duty by using the talents which have gained for him recognition and prestige.

There is, however, the aspect of black magic, and as a

[1] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. ii, p. 327.
[2] im Thurn's "Among the Indians of Guiana," p. 335.

rule the capabilities for social and anti-social action are used by the one medicine man, though there are specialists in the black and white Shamanistic practices.[1] A common way of using black magic is in aiding a private client who wishes to injure his enemy. For the aid of the medicine man the author of revenge is willing to pay, and in accepting such emoluments a witch doctor is acting in opposition to the best interests of society.[2] In attempting to secure order and justice by divination of crime, the medicine man may work merely to serve private ends connected with bribery or personal ambition, and even when acting for the public weal he has an arrogance of manner bordering on intimidation. But on the whole the aloofness and egotism of the Shaman, medicine man, or witch doctor are merely in keeping with the general dignity accruing from his position as mediator between man and superhuman forces.

Neurological Aspect of Initiation.—Bori-dancing of Nigeria is an art which the pupil acquires after specialised initiation and training. In all probability the dance originated as a cure for insanity, the supposition being that those who were insane would become mentally more stable, and less liable to do acts of violence, if allowed to give vent to sudden turbulent emotions by dancing.[3]

This not unreasonable argument finds some support in evidence concerning the symptoms of arctic hysteria and the treatment of the complaint by Shamanising. That is, by violent dancing, drum beating, song, and prophecy. A Yakut novice said that after prolonged mental struggle and illness, Shamanising improved his condition.[4]

[1] Bogoras's "The Chukchee," p. 417.

[2] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. ii, p. 355; Kingsley's "West African Studies," p. 410.

[3] A. J. N. Tremearne, "The Tailed Head Hunters of Nigeria," London, 1912, p. 258.

[4] W. L. Sieroszewski, "Twelve Years in the Land of the Yakut," Warsaw, 1900, p. 626 *et seq.* For translation from Russian, see Czaplicka's "Aboriginal Siberia," p. 173.

The distinction between bori-dancing and Shamanising is, however, fundamental from the social, if not from the therapeutic point of view. Any person, apart from considerations of age, sex, or social distinction, may learn bori-dancing on payment of a fee,[1] while, on the contrary, the novice who Shamanises must be called by the voice of spirits.[2] Hysteria, uncontrolled emotion, and epilepsy appear to be fundamental to both bori-dancing and Shamanising, though in the latter case the objective is acquisition of control for the purpose of specialising as a Shaman or medicine man, whereas the "bori"-dancer's primary aim is curative self-treatment.

Initiation of the bori-dancer may be carried out at the house of the head of the sect for the district, possibly at the patient's own home, during a period varying from six to forty days. In addition to payment of the usual fees, a candidate is expected to provide a house for his initiator and tutor, also four fowls, food, white and black cloth, a new jar, three grass mats, a large ram, and a small black he goat.[3] Evidently admission to the sect of bori-dancers is not so democratic as might at first be supposed. Treatment always commences on a Friday, but there is the greatest reticence of the people with regard to the details of initiation. Major Tremearne remarks that the candidate enters the house clothed in white, hair must be shaved or pulled from the body, and the novice has to be accompanied by one or two select tutors. The pupil practises falling without hurting himself by learning to eat porridge from the floor without using his hands. The necessity of learning to fall without taking injury suggests that the novice, whom we should regard as a patient, is epileptic. "No reliable account can be obtained concerning the exact treatment during initiation," but there is no doubt

[1] Tremearne's "The Tailed Head Hunters of Nigeria," p. 258.
[2] Czaplicka's "Aboriginal Siberia," p. 172 *et seq.*
[3] Tremearne's "The Tailed Head Hunters of Nigeria," p. 259.

that music is continuously played outside the hut while initiation is in progress.[1]

Specialised Training in Priestcraft.—All preparation for the post of primitive medicine man may be rightly regarded as a specialised education having as its object mediation between man and non-human agencies. Ideas concerning such agents and their control over human destiny may be crystallised into well-defined beliefs respecting supreme beings, to whom the life-long service of priests is dedicated. Boys undergo special preparation, initiation into mystic rites; finally, formal presentation to a deity, whom they serve with more or less self-negation and purity of purpose, in order that the will of the gods may be interpreted to the tribe.[2]

Among the "Tailed Head Hunters of Nigeria," religious secrets are carefully guarded, and the novice who aspires to the hereditary office of priest receives careful instruction at the hands of his father or uncle.[3] There is great difficulty in obtaining information respecting initiation, but the duties of a graduate are fairly well defined, and perhaps one may reasonably assume that initiation is mainly concerned with preparation for these duties.

The priest, like the medicine man, must be able to foretell events by divination which may take the form of examining water into which flour has been thrown, or counting ornaments threaded on string. Unlike Shamans, the Nigerian priests do not go into convulsions or trance; they have no power over ghosts, but in compensation for the lack of these ordinary accomplishments of primitive medicine men, the Nigerian priest can claim considerable

[1] Tremearne's "The Tailed Head Hunters of Nigeria," p. 259.

[2] For dedication to temple service among Aztecs, see T. A. Joyce, "Mexican Archæology," London, 1912, p. 94, and for similar practice among Incas, Sir C. R. Markham, "Narratives of Laws and Rites of Incas," Hakluyt Society, 1873, p. 53, etc.

[3] Tremearne's "The Tailed Head Hunters of Nigeria," p. 191.

influence with a supreme god. Detailed information concerning the power of priests and the manner in which it is exercised is not supplied, with the exception of a mention of divination, and the scaring of women and children who are afraid to come out after dark. Possibly the action of priests, who make their faces hideous with red earth, accounts for the high standard of morality among girls, who are afraid to leave their homes after dark.[1]

Among the Ewe-speaking peoples of the slave coast boys who are dedicated to the gods serve three years in a seminary, where they learn chants, dancing, and the general ceremonial of religious festivals. After three years of specialised education, the candidate has to show that his service as a priest would be acceptable to the gods. A sacrifice is offered, the boy is shaved, lubricated with oil, and girded with palm leaves. He is then led in procession round the shrine, while priests chant an invocation to the gods, and relatives and friends prostrate themselves. The novice, robed in white, is seated on a stool reserved for use during dedications; then in the form of a wild chant, repeated three times, a priest asks the god whether the youth is acceptable. Should the deity accept the novice, the latter trembles, dances wildly, simulates convulsions, then suddenly becomes quiet and normal.[2] This sudden recovery of self-control is a necessary qualification for the Siberian youth who wishes to Shamanise. Hysteria and neurosis are radical to the Shaman's vocation, but he differs from the ordinary patient in possessing an effective control which is intermittently exercised during a seance.[3]

The West African novice completes his initiation by remaining in seclusion, under a ban of silence for seven days and seven nights, after which he is considered to be

[1] Tremearne's "The Tailed Head Hunters of Nigeria," p. 191.

[2] A. B. Ellis, "Ewe Speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa," London, 1890, pp. 142–3.

[3] Czaplicka's "Aboriginal Siberia," p. 169.

fully ordained. Every form of initiation, whether connected with general or specific training, is characterised by seclusion, presumably to impress the novice with the importance of the occasion, and to provide an opportunity for reflection on the duties and maxims which have been impressed by elders during instruction. Silence imposed during all types of initiation is, I think, symbolic of the silence of death, for initiation is fundamentally a cessation of the old life followed by rebirth into a new.

Specialised Training in Handicraft.—In turning from specialised spiritual education to the question of specific preparation for an hereditary occupation, one might expect to find that the training related chiefly to the imparting of manual dexterity.

The occupation of iron workers is, however, regarded with some degree of superstition. The apprentice is made to feel that he is indulging in no ordinary craft, but, on the contrary, he is associated by virtue of his trade with forces which are not purely physical. In Siberia, where Shamans wear amulets of iron, and attach such ornaments to their drums, the smith's craft is allied to that of the medicine man.

The occupation is hereditary and a knowledge of the art is passed from father to son.[1] Among the Masai, smiths form an endogamous class, and a specialised training in the craft is given by a father to his sons. Working in iron is regarded with superstition, which expresses itself in a popular belief that smiths have no good luck with cattle. That is to say, the iron worker is an individual set apart from the usual pastoral pursuits of the tribe. The language spoken by iron smiths is not understood by the pastoral Masai.[2] In the Baganda tribe, when the son of a smith begins to imitate

[1] Czaplicka's "Aboriginal Siberia," pp. 199–200, 210–13.
[2] Hollis's "The Masai," pp. 330–31.

his father's work by tapping pieces of iron, the parent gives the boy a sheet of metal. After the youth has shaped this into something resembling an implement, it is given to the mother, who lies on the ground. The father jumps over the body of his wife in order to confirm the son in the special trade.[1] Metal work is not the monopoly of any particular clan or division of the Akamba people. Smiths preserve their hereditary occupation, but there is no law to prevent others from learning the trade provided a tutor can be found.[2] The social position of smiths is very high in the Congo region and the occupation commands much respect for those who follow it. Natives who do not specialise in any trade regard metal workers as very skilful and practised in witchcraft. No person is allowed to step over the smith's furnace, blow into, or spit in it. Such conduct would result in bad workmanship. A smith teaches his trade to his son or nephew, but would take great care to preserve his knowledge from non-metal workers.[3] In India, where caste and occupation go hand in hand, knowledge of handicraft is carefully transmitted from father to son in order to preserve social status. "The son of a landowner or merchant is at the very earliest age introduced to life and allowed to share in the pursuits and amusements of his seniors, hence the child of the peasant, as soon as the stage of making mud pies is past, is initiated into the craft or occupation of his father. The son of the carpenter, blacksmith, or weaver is soon taught to assist at the bench or forge, or in laying out the warp.[4]

Specialised education of boys in the craft of the father is evidently not merely connected with a desire to maintain trade secrets within the group. General regard for the

[1] Roscoe's "The Baganda," p. 382.
[2] C. W. Hobley, "Ethnology of the A. Kamba and other East African Tribes," Cambridge, 1910, pp. 29, 51, 167.
[3] Weeks's "Among Congo Cannibals," p. 90.
[4] Crooke's "Natives of Northern India," p. 180.

occupation of smiths combined with the hereditary nature of the craft, and special observances made before the novice commences work, indicate a connection of iron working with the supernatural. On the contrary, hereditary occupations in India are almost wholly preserved as such because of their determination of social status.

The post of scarifier is sometimes regarded as specialised, and all people of good social standing patronise the professional artist. The office of scarifier is hereditary, and no professional will teach the secrets of his art to anyone but his son or nephew.[1] The tattooist, often a female, may generally be regarded as a specialised worker whose profession is hereditary. Probably the major evidence indicates that the office of tattooist whether by scarification, puncture, or moko of New Zealand, tends to be hereditary, and the apprentice receives a specialised training which enables him or her to gain social status and material rewards.[2]

Special Training for Sons of Chiefs.—There are numerous instances of special training and initiation for the sons of chiefs, especially in Polynesia, Melanesia, and Africa. Elaborate tattooing is one common distinction of social status and in Samoa several youths volunteered to be tattooed with their chief. The ceremony was concluded by lustration of all concerned, while a break with the old life and commencement of a new was symbolised by the extinguishing and relighting of torches, and breaking of a water bottle.[3]

Codrington mentions a highly specialised education for the sons of chiefs in Melanesia. "A chief's son goes early to the canoe house and public hall while common children

[1] Tremearne's "The Tailed Head Hunters of Nigeria," p. 112.

[2] Seligman's "Melanesians of British New Guinea," pp. 73, 276–7; Major-Gen. Robley, "Moko," London, 1896, p. 98; Hose and McDougall's "The Pagan Tribes of Borneo," vol. i, p. 252.

[3] Stair's "Old Samoa," p. 157.

still eat and sleep at home." This restriction to the society of men in the Club-house commences about the age of twelve years up to which time the parents are extremely careful. The boy is not allowed near the sleeping place of women, his mother must not use bad words when scolding; he must not fraternise with older boys, who might teach him bad ways, in short, he is kept apart so that he may not fall low.[1] There was in Mangareva a custom of removing the child of a king or chief shortly after birth to a secluded place in the mountains, where he remained for twelve years. Then followed the rites of circumcision and tattooing, while at the same period the boy learnt from what illustrious ancestors he was descended.

In Tahiti, where the first-born succeeded his father as chief immediately on birth, the babe was taken to the "Marae." Here the priest bathed him in a large arum leaf and covered him with a "sacred cloth" of the god to indicate that he was admitted to the society of the gods, and exalted above ordinary men.[2]

In Central Africa, and here one might wish for more details of tribes and localities, the hereditary chieftainship passes from the deceased chief to one of his younger brothers or to the eldest son of one his sisters. Werner makes no mention of specialised training for chieftainship, but states that the successor, before assuming the official position, is lectured on the subject of duties and responsibilities toward his people.[3]

During pre-European times there were in the Edo country two kinds of chiefs. The more important were succeeded by their sons, but as a rule the position was

[1] Codrington's "The Melanesians," p. 233.

[2] R. W. Williamson, "Social and Political Systems of Central Polynesia," 1924, vol. iii, p. 202, summary of evidence from D'Urville, Cuzent, Caillot. See also vol. iii, p. 216, and Ellis's "Polynesian Researches," vol. i, p. 258.

[3] Werner's "The Natives of British Central Africa," p. 258.

sold by the king to the highest bidder. A son of the late chief was not excluded, but had no special claim to the father's position.[1] Masai chiefs are credited with "second sight," which is transmitted to their sons by a drug whose nature is known only to the royal family.[2]

Concluding Remarks

The question of specialised education of boys is important because of its bearing on the subject of individual and social evolution. The foregoing evidence suggests that primitive society may not be so stereotyped and unprogressive as the sociologist has generally supposed. In the selection of medicine men a discretionary power is exercised, and the office is usually, but not invariably, hereditary. The practitioner is required to be a natural leader of the thoughts and actions of others. In time of peace or war, the medicine man is a psychic force moulding the destiny of his clients. He is responsible for the health of the community, for the detection of crime, for prophesy and divination respecting the will of the gods, and at all times, as a mediator between the natural and supernatural, he is supreme. With his responsibility to society, and the possibilities of abuse of power for private ends we have dealt in some detail, and in the medicine man, or youth dedicated to the service of a deity, there is an obvious use of the specialised education of boys for public service.

In more material matters there is specialisation. Hence in addition to the usual training as a hunter or warrior,[3] which forms a necessary part of all general preparation for tribal fellowship, we have observed instances of the

[1] Thomas's "Edo Speaking Peoples of Nigeria," part i, p. 12.
[2] Hinde and Hinde's "The Last of the Masai," p. 23.
[3] The Masai military system is exceptionally exacting in its training for boys, *ibid.*, p. 56.

specialised division of labour in the department of handicraft. The following of hereditary occupations is an illustration of the conservatism, not merely of primitive man, but of the human race in general. But in compensation for the exclusion of many youths from a trade in which they might be of great service to the community, there is the attainment of a high degree of skill and manual dexterity within the ranks of hereditary workers, whose competence cannot fail to benefit the society as a whole.

A consideration of the general and specialised education of boys has revealed a striving for efficiency within the tribe. Social solidarity is undoubtedly the first requirement, but the enforced training is of direct personal benefit to each individual, and at the same time credit may justly be given for the manner in which tribal elders, and the community in general, are willing to recognise and foster development of innate natural ability, without prejudice on account of humble origin.

The evidence of this chapter is important in establishing a connection between ordinary tribal initiation and that of such specialists as priests and medicine men. The latter forms of preparation for peculiar social status and function, combined with a strong survival of special types of initiation for sons of chiefs, suggest the feasibility of these having a common origin within a dual organisation of priestcraft and kingship. In Melanesia and Polynesia there are three forms of initiation which are probably closely allied and derived from a common source. I refer to initiation of medicine men, special initiation for sons of chiefs, and reception into a secret society which invariably aims at (*a*) conferring superior status, (*b*) making a pretence of exercising moral restraint, (*c*) intimidating non-members of the society. Many factors of ordinary tribal initiation, with the exception of circumcision and tattooing, I believe to be derived from that originally given

to priests and medicine men, and the points of identity in the two schemes are:—

(1) Transfer of a special power from old men to novices by symbolic acts.

(2) Harsh treatment of the novice, who becomes subject to penalties and restrictions.

(3) Solitude, silence, knowledge of magic.

(4) Instruction from older men.

(5) Rebirth, a new life, and a special function for introducing the new member to society on completion of initiation.

CHAPTER IV

PREPARATION OF GIRLS FOR GENERAL AND SPECIALISED FUNCTIONS OF TRIBAL LIFE

Historical Introduction.—Position of Primitive Woman and her Contribution to Material Progress.—Sexual Morality.—General Training of Girls for Domestic Work and Agriculture.—Factors of Solitude and Self Denial.—Physical Preparation; Fattening; Tattooing; Circumcision.—Specialised Training of Girls: (*a*) For Service in Temples; (*b*) As Women Witch Doctors; (*c*) As Warriors.—Organisations for Preservation of Women's Rights.—Influence of Women on Social and Political Life of the Tribe.

Education of Girls

Historical Introduction.—Throughout this chapter there are two points of outstanding interest, one relating to the close similarity between initiation of boys and girls, and the other to employment of women as priestesses.

The points of identity between initiatory rites for boys and girls at puberty are: imposition of restrictions, in Africa circumcision and scarifying, tattooing in all parts of the world with the exception of Africa, China, and Australia, rebirth, isolation and silence taboo, change of name, and purification ceremonies.

Restrictions relate chiefly to food, confinement to the house, village, or special compound; while further prohibitions demand silence and keeping feet from the ground. Circumcision is an African custom of varying degrees of severity, and the dressing of Nandi girls as boys before the ceremony suggests transfer of the rite from males to females. But there is the difficulty that boys dress as girls for circumcision.[1] Nevertheless, it is definitely known

[1] Hollis's "The Nandi," pp. 53, 57.

that the operation of subincision was practised on boys in predynastic times in Egypt, but there is no anatomical or other evidence to suggest that a corresponding rite was inflicted on girls.[1] Hardships during training of girls include beating, scarifying, tattooing, and the sweat-bath. The rebirth ceremony for girls compares with that for boys in concealment of identity by paint and dress, isolation, conferring of a new name, and presentation to society and family where there is reception with weeping and pretence that the novice has been dead. Purification includes washing and head shaving. Fattening is chiefly an African custom not fully explained by stating that there is a preference for well developed women. The custom may be traceable to days of a fertility cult at which time the well-known female figurines, with all reproductive parts exaggerated, were extensively used in Paleolithic Europe and Predynastic Egypt.[2] One item of extreme importance in the initiation of boys is not found in similar rites for girls, namely, the transfer of some kind of power from elders to novices by blowing, rubbing, or other methods.

In spite of this difference, the points of similarity to which attention has been directed suggest derivation of initiation of both boys and girls from some common type of preparation. The procedures are too nearly identical in most important points to warrant supposition of independent origin. Probably both rites for males and females are traceable to prehistoric times when fertility cults were practised with the external aids of female figurines, painting, tattooing, and for boys circumcision.

I would postulate prehistoric fertility cults and puberty rites for girls and boys, with development at a later date, possibly in early dynastic Egypt, of a special

[1] Smith's "Ancient Egyptians and The Origin of Civilisation," p. 62. Budge's "Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection," vol. ii, p. 229.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 229.

initiation for priests and kings. The types of initiation show signs of contiguous development and interchange of ideas which have been tabulated in Chapter III dealing with the initiation of medicine men.

With regard to the historical aspect of initiatory rites for priestesses, and the inauguration of medicine women, either as independent practitioners, or as assistants to their husbands, there is little evidence.

Data collated in this chapter show that women of noble families were employed as priestesses in Egypt, while there were female temple assistants, dancers, and attendants on deities, all of whom had their female consorts or concubines.[1] On Egyptian monuments the wife is always represented on an equality with the husband, and a wife was considered essential for future life.[2]

There is considerable evidence detailed in this chapter to show that in primitive society woman has not occupied, and does not now occupy, the position of social inferiority which has often been said to be her lot. Whether the admission of medicine women is a derivative from practices relating to inauguration of medicine men it is impossible to say in the absence of details relating to training of females as practitioners of therapy and magic. Some women clearly acquire prestige through association with a husband in his professional practice. Other females have a private and independent position as seers, Shamanesses or witch doctors. But I have read of no initiatory rites corresponding to those of males in point of isolation, hardship, transfer of power, payment, hereditary qualifications, or the " calling of an inner voice."

There is a certain interesting analogy between priestesses of the most remote periods of history, namely, those of ancient Egypt, and employment of women as priestesses

[1] A. Erman, " Life in Ancient Egypt," London, 1894, p. 296.
[2] Sir W. M. F. Petrie, " Social Life in Ancient Egypt," 1923, p. 118.

and temple attendants among the Herero, in Assam, Indonesia, Central Celebes, Borneo, India, Hawaii, Samoa, Fiji, ancient Persia, Peru, and Mexico. Vows of chastity, marriage to a god or his incarnate representative, and taking charge of sacred fire are points common to the temple service of women. These in addition to claims of divine origin, as in Indonesia, give what is probably more than a chance resemblance to their prototypes of Archaic Egypt.

The Preparation of Girls for Tribal Life

Modern anthropological literature is replete with information which may be used to illustrate the methods and ideals of primitive man, who undoubtedly concerns himself with the general and specialised education of boys.

On the contrary, there is a paucity of evidence respecting the training of girls; but the lack of direct evidence by no means indicates that primitive people have excluded young females from the benefits of preparation for tribal life. Peoples of rudimentary culture are extremely reticent concerning all rites of a sacred nature, and there is little prospect of augmenting our knowledge of the training of primitive woman unless the number of specially trained women investigators is greatly increased. Women are extremely unlikely to favour the male anthropologist with a description of their customs, and even the men of the tribe, provided they are fully acquainted with the proceedings of the other sex, are very taciturn when questioned about their women.

A brief consideration of the social and moral status of women forms a natural introduction to a more detailed study of the preparation which is intended to equip a female for taking her place in adult society. This position is not so humble as earlier writers have supposed, and Mr. O. T. Mason [1] has done no more than justice to primitive woman

[1] "Woman's Share in Primitive Culture," 1894, p. 186.

IBAN WOMAN WITH SPINNING-WHEEL.

(*Photo : Dr. C. Hose :* "Pagan Tribes of Borneo.")

Elderly Kayan Woman ascending the House Ladder with Basketful of Water Vessels.

(*Photo : Dr. C. Hose :* "Pagan Tribes of Borneo.")

in describing her as prime mover in evolution of architecture, plastic art, geometric design, textiles, tapestries, and embroideries.

Such preparation may, as we found in the case of boys, be regarded as general or specialised. In other words, primitive society recognises the necessity for a certain standard of preparation which equips the juvenile for adult life. Puberty, with its marked physiological changes, appeals to the mind of primitive man, who refuses to allow adolescence to pass, and the adult stage to be attained, without special recognition and ceremonial.

Therefore there is a general training, chiefly informal and physical, which prepares the girl for matrimonial duties. In some instances we may have to note seclusion of girls in the bush for the purpose of giving instructions, whose nature and scope are by no means fully understood by the investigator. A general education naturally includes some reference to agricultural and domestic duties, which in the main appear to be learned from the mother partly by direct instruction, but to a greater extent by imitative play, during which young girls nurse babies, make string bags or pottery, use a small hoe, assist in grinding corn, carrying water, or collecting firewood.

Treatment of the aspect of physical education of girls must include some reference to fattening, tattooing, circumcision, abdominal dances, or other customs which prepare in a physiological sense for adult life. Seclusion, pain tests, and direct instruction will be noted, but information is not so ample or reliable as evidence respecting similar points in the training of boys.

The *specialised* education of girls is by no means neglected, though we are in difficulties when pressed for authentic accounts of the selection, initiation, and subsequent practice of female specialists. Women may act as witch doctors, tattooists and midwives, or they may be dedicated to life-long service of a deity. In all such

instances there is in all probability a probationary period, followed by initiatory rites, but with regard to such matters the evidence is suggestive rather than conclusive.

The social status, freedom, and privileges of women in primitive society naturally depend on the preponderance of males or females within the tribe, while matrilocal or patrilocal conditions are likely to determine the rigidity of tribal law and punishments which apply to the female sex.[1] In Hawaii, descent of rank through the female line gave woman a place of importance and often elevated her to topmost station. As queen or regent, she had unlimited political power. But among commoners a woman was not allowed to eat with the humblest man, nor of food prepared in the same oven, nor of more nutritious viands reserved by taboo for the males. At birth she was less welcome than her brother and more liable to be thrust alive into the grave. As a child she must eat no food that had chanced to touch her father's dish. As a wife she was subject to the husband's will and cast off at his option. She was excluded from the Heiaus, followed menial tasks, but accompanied her husband to battle.[2]

Position of Women.—Among the Akikuyu, woman has no legal status, and her husband may treat her as he wishes, without fear of the retribution of tribal law. In practice, the condition is not so unsatisfactory, for tribal tradition sanctions kindly treatment of the weaker sex, and in addition to this a wife has an intrinsic value on account of her labour and possibilities of motherhood.[3] A review of evidence respecting maternity and child welfare [4] showed that the social status of woman depends very largely on her fertility, and beyond doubt the prolonged lactation, combined with

[1] R. H. Lowie, "Primitive Society," 1921, chap. viii, "Position of Women," p. 178.

[2] W. F. Blackman, "The Making of Hawaii," London, 1899, p. 51.

[3] Routledge's "With a Prehistoric People" (the Akikuyu), p. 120.

[4] This work, chapter I.

CHUKCHEE WOMAN SCRAPING A SKIN.

(*Photo : Jesup Expedition.* American Museum of Natural History, New York.)

CHUKCHEE WOMAN SPLITTING A WALRUS-HIDE.

(*Photo : Jesup Expedition.* American Museum of Natural History, New York.)

a continuation of domestic and agricultural work, imposes great self-denial and personal effort. The work of married women is sometimes represented as most arduous, and "Their whole existence seems to be taken up in waiting on their loafing lords, bearing children, and bringing them up."[1] An Eskimo woman has to do the household work, the sewing, cooking, mending of tents and boat covers, chewing skins to soften them for sewing, rearing young dogs, making household utensils of horn or wood, and in winter she is responsible for a great deal of building connected with the erection of snow dwellings. Such a variety of duties in addition to the rearing of children indicates an arduous existence.[2] Among the Chukchee the position of women is inferior to that of men, for one often hears the words, "Since you are a woman, be silent," when a wife presumes to argue. Women of the reindeer Chukchee work much harder than the men, great demands being made on their energies by care of the house, butchering and skinning animals, gathering roots, preparing food, dressing skins and making garments. That affection exists between husband and wife is shown by cases of suicide when one of the partners dies. Men, with their light sledges, arrive first in camp, while women trail behind with the heavier pack sledges. Bogoras says :—"When I was trying to learn the Chukchee language I found to my great amazement that young men did not know the names of some parts of the house frame, household utensils, and instruments for dressing skins. 'Ugh,' they would say, 'I don't know, because that is a woman's business.'" The wife is often harshly treated by her husband and blows are not infrequently dealt to her; but it sometimes happens that a wife ill-treats her husband. "I recall one man of small stature, with little physical strength, but very

[1] Hardy and Elkington's "The Savage South Seas," p. 35.
[2] Boas's "The Eskimo," p. 580.

irascible. When it came to blows the wife would throw him down, and keep him down, asking: 'Have you enough?' 'Will you cease?' until he would say, 'Enough, I will cease.'"[1] Catlin says of the Mandan Indians of the Upper Missouri:—"Girls marry at the age of twelve or fourteen, some even at the age of eleven years. Their good looks soon vanish." The occupations of girls are almost continual, and they seem to go industriously at them as if from choice or inclination without a murmur. Women are responsible for procuring wild vegetable produce and carrying water. They cook, dress skins and sew them, dry meat and fruits, raise corn and maize, manufacture their own hoes from the shoulder-blade of the elk, and with such rough implements laboriously dig the ground.[2] The work expected from a woman of the Salish tribes of British North America depends on the wealth of her husband. As a rule, from puberty onward the girl's life is one of service and labour. "If she be the daughter of a man of standing and wealth her duties are made comparatively light by the assistance of household slaves; poor women work hard."[3] Even the women, whose lot among primitive races is always harder than that of the men, had by no means a hard time compared with that of primitive woman in general. For the Salish, one may say that, though women were kept fully occupied by family cares, they had a voice in the family council.[4] Spencer and Gillen have pointed out that females in aboriginal Australian Society grow old at a very early age, and one should add that this early maturity and decadence is to a certain extent a racial quality which is not necessarily connected with hardship or illtreatment. "By the time she is twenty-five or at most thirty she is completely *passée*, and at forty is a veritable

[1] "Journal of the North Pacific Expedition," 1904–9, vol. vii, p. 546.
[2] Catlin's "North American Indians," vol. i, p. 121.
[3] Hill-Tout's "The Natives of British North America," pp. 247, 253.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 253.

CHUKCHEE WOMAN DIGGING ROOTS.

(*Photo: Jesup Expedition.* American Museum of Natural History, New York.)

CHUKCHEE WOMAN MAKING A CLAY LAMP.

(*Photo: Jesup Expedition.* American Museum of Natural History, New York.)

hag. To what age she attains it is difficult to say, but there are probably few who live beyond the age of fifty."[1] There is some compensation for primitive woman in the acquisition of a strong physique and graceful carriage resulting from the custom of carrying a load on the head.

In Guiana, the hard work of the village is the lot of women, who carry water and firewood, cook food, make bread, nurse children, till the soil, sow seed, garner the harvest, make hammocks for use and barter, and act as porters when the community is moving.[2] The women of the Ainu[3] tribe of Japan appear to be totally subservient to the men, to whom they are taught to pay honours and attention. Females always wait to be addressed before they speak to the men, and, among other points of etiquette, a woman is expected to get out of the way of a man when meeting him in a path; she must cover her mouth with one hand and should uncover her head when in the presence of males. "Women are generally considered quite inferior to men both spiritually and intellectually." By some males, women are supposed not to have a soul, and for this reason they are not allowed to pray. Females are said to be incapable of understanding traditions of ancient law-givers. Their whole life is a slavish drudgery. They are regarded almost as slaves, and from morning to night, and from one year's end to another, it is work, work, work, and their work is manual labour of the most tiring kind.[4]

Respecting the position of women in the Koryak tribe, Jochelson says:—"The men get the best food while women

[1] "Across Australia," vol. i, 196.

[2] im Thurn's "Among the Indians of Guiana," pp. 215–16.

[3] The Ainus inhabited Japan a considerable time before the present inhabitants gained a hold over the country. The oldest Japanese book was written A.D. 712, and in this volume the following account occurs: "When our august ancestors descended from heaven in a boat they found upon this island several barbarous races the most fierce of whom were the Ainu." —See Batchelor's "The Ainus of Japan," p. 13.

[4] Batchelor's "The Ainus of Japan," pp. 38, 110.

have to be content with what is left. Thus among the reindeer Koryak only the men sit round the food which is served in the inner tent, and in addition to the children only the mother or the eldest wife is present. As a rule women live on food remaining from the men's meal, and such rations have to be consumed in the outer tent." [1]

Nevertheless a husband will often consult his wife with regard to household affairs, and attention is paid to a daughter's preference respecting her marriage. "Generally the attitude toward a wife is one of kindly protectiveness, and Koryak families are for the most part united and happy." [2] For women of the Shan States the nightly period of rest is short. At four o'clock in the morning paddy-pounding begins and the village resounds with the thuds of heavy pestles pounding the grain in order to separate the rice from the chaff. By six o'clock the village is astir with the movement and bustle of women only. Men sleep longer than females, and the former seldom leave their homes before eight or nine o'clock.[3]

"Women are little dependent on men as by their own exertions they can easily support themselves and their children, so men, as a matter of course, allow women to look after themselves. A husband will sometimes assist his wife in carrying a heavy child or drawing water. Cooking is done entirely by the wife, who gathers wood for the fires and prepares food." [4]

The intellectual education of Shan women is neglected, but although girls are not taught to read or write, they know by heart a great many of the Buddhist scriptures by

[1] Jochelson's "The Koryak," p. 745.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 743. Compare treatment of Koryak women with the account given by Ling-Roth in "The Aborigines of Tasmania," p. 44. "Men were selfish, they fed near the fire and threw inferior scraps to the outer circle of women."

[3] Milne's "The Shans at Home," p. 112.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 116.

hearing the repetition of these by their men folk in an evening.[1]

In Hindu society there is no place for the unmarried woman, and it is possible to speak in general terms to the effect that in primitive and Oriental society woman functions chiefly as a domestic worker and child-bearer. She may also be responsible for agricultural work and porterage of materials when the camp is moved. Her position is inferior to that of man in the social scale, but the utilitarian value of manual work and fecundity make females far too valuable to be subject to ill-treatment.

When puberty occurs, girls are not disposed of in all primitive societies without reference to their personal wishes, and we shall have to note instances of the reversal of infantile betrothals.[2] In contracting marriage, the Samoan woman was sometimes able to follow her own inclination and affection, but, generally speaking, the family were the contracting parties, a union often being proposed or arranged by parents without any reference to the woman's feelings.[3] The division of labour between men and women may, on first consideration, appear to be unfair to the females, but a closer examination of the circumstances may reveal an adaptation of the division of labour to the special needs of the community.

A century ago the existence of any primitive community depended very largely on the fighting qualities of its male members. Hence the women of the tribe are still responsible for all manual work, an arrangement which leaves their male relatives free to fight, hunt, and fish. A consideration of the daily routine of Australian aborigines, say the Arunta or other tribes of Central Australia, who have not been

[1] Milne's "The Shans at Home," p. 62.

[2] Routledge and Routledge's "With a Prehistoric People," p. 124.

[3] Turner's "Samoa," pp. 12, 340; Turner's "Nineteen Years in Polynesia," p. 186.

much affected by the progress of civilisation, indicates the enormous amount of time spent by men, who are responsible for inaugurating and carrying out all magical ceremonies connected with rainfall and food supply. To the casual observer, it may appear that while women do the hard work of the camp men spend all their time in dressing up for elaborate ceremonies.

Possibly this apparently unfair distribution of labour is capable of a more correct interpretation. Women are held to be incapable of taking part in any ceremony which deals with what is sacred, and severe punishments are meted out to strangers and females who try to approach the repository for sacred churinga and bull-roarers.[1] Consequently the males, who alone come into contact with non-human forces which control the food supplies, or endow boys with manly qualities during initiation, are obliged to relegate to their women appropriate tasks of manual labour. The male element regards itself with esteem as the mainstay of a primitive society which depends on fighting, hunting, and magical practices as fundamentals of existence.

During archæological excavations in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, some two hundred miles to the south of Khartoum, I noted that the interments of primitive Ethiopian people showed a great preponderance of females, who had undoubtedly worked hard, in so far as the size and strength of osseous processes for muscular attachments may be relied upon as evidence. There appeared to have been a paucity of males, and in addition to the low proportion of male interments to female burials, there appeared to be justification for the belief that the males had borne the brunt of combat, for not only were their interments few in number, but there were interesting examples of a pathological kind, showing the repair of broken limbs in which the fracture had not been reduced by application of splints.

[1] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. i, p. 208; vol. ii, p. 345.

Grinding Durra for Merissa (Kordofan).

Jar-carrying gives a Graceful Pose (Chiromo, British Central Africa).

(*Photo : A. Werner :* "British Central Africa." Constable & Co.)

On *fête* days, when our workmen attended races organised for small boys employed on the excavation, women were never present. In Cairo, and other cities where East and West have met, the rigorous exclusion of Muhammedan women from public entertainment is considerably relaxed, though the "yashmak," or veil, is still worn.

There is in modern anthropological evidence, likewise in archæological study, sufficient data to show that primitive man considers the division of labour between males and females a fair allotment of duties. The vigorous, open-air life led by primitive woman has undoubtedly bequeathed to her children the legacy of a good physique, but her low social status compared with that of males in the tribe has probably adversely affected the mental development of children, who, at an early age, become the special care of male relatives and tribal elders, who are responsible for equipping juniors for communal life.

In a state of social development where physical force is fundamental to existence, woman not unnaturally becomes subservient to man, and in the conservative treatment of her by some of our university authorities and professional bodies may be seen a survival of the primitive conception of woman as a domestic worker and a bearer of children.

Failure to recognise instances in which women of primitive races have been accorded high social status would be unjust to peoples of elementary culture. Later in the chapter we shall see that women may assist their husbands in the important office of medical practitioner. More noteworthy still, females may act independently as Shamanesses or witch doctresses, in which capacity they may be said to occupy a most influential social position as intermediaries between the mundane and spiritual. From West Africa and India there is evidence to show the dedication of girls to the gods, and we should not be justified in saying that

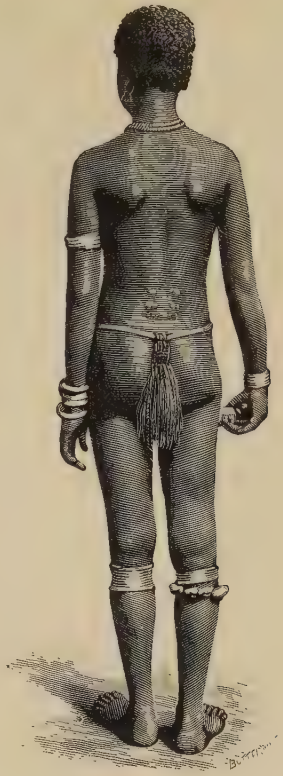
special mental ability and physical beauty are not recognised in females of primitive races.

Sexual Morality.

Questions relating to the social status of women are logically connected with the standards of sexual morality prevalent among primitive people. Moralists who are unacquainted with the lives of races of elementary culture are perhaps apt to imagine that there is great laxity and a low standard of sexual morality prevalent among primitive people. Such an opinion is very wide of the true mark, and from Sir J. G. Frazer's monumental work "Totemism and Exogamy" one may readily see that the adduced evidence proves the existence of very rigid precedent regulating marriage in primitive society, whose members are ever ready to punish those who break the tribal laws. Examples of freedom of sexual intercourse before marriage, also of special licence on particular *fête* days, or of wife-lending as a crude form of hospitality, have given rise to a general opinion that among so-called "savages" there is almost unrestricted freedom in sexual relationship. Polygamy, both in the form of polyandry and polygyny, likewise a custom of marrying two or more sisters to the same man, or again the "levirate," may give rise to the idea of promiscuity in sexual matters.[1] The standards of primitive man are not the standards of the Western Hemisphere; nevertheless he has fixed and permanent values for gauging the moral conduct of males and females, and these standards

[1] Polygamy = marrying many.
Polyandry = term to describe system in which a woman has several husbands. See Rivers's "The Todas," p. 529.
Polygyny = having several wives.
Levirate = custom of marrying the childless widow of a deceased brother. The Hebrews observed this custom.
Totemism = division into clans having special animal or plant emblems.
Exogamy = marrying out of one's own clan.
Sororate = marriage of sisters by one man.

A Kikuyu Woman carrying Child and Load of Wood.



Married Woman of Kavirondo wearing a thin narrow Girdle which supports a Tassel behind.

(Sir J. Bland-Sutton : "Man and Beast in Eastern Ethiopia.")

are enforced with a precision which does not characterise the relationships of men and women of modern civilisation.

We may proceed to a more detailed study of the social position of primitive woman in so far as her position depends on sexual purity.[1] This point has an important bearing on the theme of the present chapter, for after a collation of evidence respecting the prevalent standards of sexual morality among primitive people, we may estimate the extent to which the early training of young girls inculcates and preserves those standards.

Major A. J. N. Tremearne states that among the "Tailed Head Hunters of Nigeria" girls of three or four years of age wear a girdle of string which is valued as an absolute sign of virginity. Females are looked after very strictly and married when very young.[2] Girls are nearly always chaste before marriage, although among the Yoruba unchastity before marriage is not held to be disgraceful.[3] Other evidence, somewhat vitiated by its vagueness respecting tribes and localities, states that:—"From early age to puberty boys and girls have free access to one another. No virgin girl more than five years old is to be found."[4] Another observer states that: "It is a remarkable fact that little native girls always lead a secluded life. They are never to be seen at village ceremonies, and are brought up within the house."[5] Among the Masai there is a recognised system of prostitution. The "ditos," who are immature girls, live with the warriors, who are not allowed to marry, and the fact of their prostitution in no ways injures their marriageable prospects. "It is a recognised custom and is not considered a vice by the Masai. A warrior chooses the 'dito' (prostitute) he fancies and makes her

[1] For detailed discussion, E. Westermarck, "The History of Human Marriage," 1921.

[2] "The Tailed Head Hunters of Nigeria," p. 104. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[4] Weeks's "Among Congo Cannibals," p. 147.

[5] Dr. Karl Weule, "Native Life in East Africa," London, 1909, p. 292.

mother a great many presents, but since it is not a marriage he gives neither cattle nor goats. . . . If after having chosen a 'dito,' the warrior is dissatisfied with her he returns her to her mother and selects another: this is, however, of rare occurrence. Upon reaching the age of puberty the girl returns to her mother and remains with her until married." [1] There is no laxity after marriage and a woman must remain chaste.[2] This laxity before marriage is the natural outcome of a military system which imposes celibacy on warriors who are required for military service. Celibacy until the age of thirty years is regarded as unnatural, and the social system has had to be adapted to the necessity of keeping unmarried men for national military service. The Ekoi of West Africa do not regard maidenhood in a bride as primarily important, though girls are carefully watched by parents, who are not ready to let a daughter go out alone. "Even should young girls be allowed considerable freedom before marriage they may be regarded as fairly faithful once the ceremony has been performed. This is partly due to fear of the "jujus" invoked by the husband, and in a measure because considerable damages may be claimed from the co-respondent, also from the woman, should her husband consider the affair serious enough for a divorce. The wedding ceremony is not considered to possess any religious character.[3] In Santa Cruz early betrothals are the rule, but the honour of the young girl is jealously guarded.[4] In New Ireland young girls aged from eight to fourteen years were confined in cages for several years. The incarceration was very close, as one may gather from the statement that the prisoner was allowed out of the cage only once per day. This custom of confinement in cages was observed in 1876 and

[1] Hinde and Hinde's "The Last of the Masai," p. 73.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 71.
[3] Talbot's "In the Shadow of the Bush, p. 105.
[4] Codrington's "The Melanesians," pp. 236, 239.

Mafulu Girl decorated for the Perineal Band Ceremony.
(Williamson : " Mafulu People of British New Guinea.")

again in 1892 on the West Coast of New Ireland.[1] Possibly the preservation of chastity was one reason for the imprisonment of girls, though there is a strong probability that the state of puberty was regarded as dangerous to the community in general, hence the isolation of subjects who were in a peculiar physiological condition.

G. Catlin, the early and acute observer of North American Indian tribes, when dealing with the Mandans of the Upper Missouri, says: "Their women are beautiful and modest and among respectable families virtue is as highly cherished and as inapproachable as in any society whatever."[2] Before the advent of European civilisation immorality was rare among Blackfeet women and chastity was regarded as of great importance in family life. It is remarkable that the magnitude of the sin of sexual impurity was so constantly impressed both by religious teaching and severity of punishments. Women's prayers usually began with a declaration of their purity. Without such an exordium prayers were thought to bring only a curse, and a most important ceremonial, notably the Sun Dance, commenced with the vow of a virtuous woman, who prayed for the recovery of the sick. If the patient died, or if any disaster came during the ceremony the woman was suspected of unchastity. The result of a false vow was generally held to be a visitation of sickness or death either on the woman herself or upon her relatives. "If a married woman was unfaithful her husband had the right to kill her or cut off her nose, or he could call a council of the head men to pass judgment. The sacredness of marriage and the purity of family life among the Blackfeet before contact with the white race doubtless contributed largely to the high average of mental, moral, and physical development which characterised so many of their former leaders."[3] It was not customary

[1] Brown's "Melanesians and Polynesians, pp. 107, 108.
[2] Catlin's "North American Indians," vol. i, p. 121.
[3] McClintock's "The Old North Trail," pp. 184–5.

for unmarried girls to associate with men, though a girl might pay attention to a desirable young man by carrying food to his lodge.

"During this period it was customary for the father, realising that the daughter would soon leave his control, to admonish her as to how she should conduct herself after marriage." [1]

Corroborative evidence respecting the value of chastity may be derived from an account of the tattooing of girls among the Omaha Indians.[2] The maiden must face the east during the operation, which takes place in the early morning. Two heralds stand at the door of the lodge to announce the names of those who are to sing during the performance. The whole ceremony is designed for the purpose of conferring honour on the girl's father, who has distinguished himself in battle. The tattoo mark itself is a disc representing the sun placed in the centre of the girl's forehead while an ancient chant is rendered. This song refers to the life-giving power of the sun rising to its zenith, and as that point is reached the orb speaks as its symbol descends upon the maid, giving promise of vitality and long life. Other symbols representing day and night are tattooed on the chest of the maiden and the process is of the nature of trial by ordeal, for if the girl is unchaste the punctures will not heal.

Miss Czaplicka remarks that among primitive tribes of Siberia there is, as a rule, no special or general education for girls, but chastity is esteemed because it enhances the bride price.[3] H. Ling Roth adduces some evidence to show that there was modesty among young females of the now extinct Tasmanians, the last survivor of whom died in 1872. Tasmanian girls would not readily permit

[1] McClintock's "The Old North Trail," p. 186.

[2] "Annual Reports of American Bureau of Ethnology," Washington 1905–6, 27th Report, p. 503.

[3] "Aboriginal Siberia," p. 35.

familiarity of European sailors, and when seated on the ground these primitive women arranged themselves in a modest posture.[1] I have frequently noticed that Sudanese girls who were stripped to the waist when drawing water from wells, would cover themselves on the approach of Europeans.

Among the Kurnai, old women instruct young girls in the laws of the tribe, impressing on them modesty of behaviour and propriety of conduct, pointing out to them the heinousness of incest.[2] Veddas of pure racial type rigorously seclude their young women and protect them from strangers. When a stranger is seen approaching they gradually slip away into the wood and do not put in an appearance until all is clear.[3] In New Guinea there is great sexual freedom before marriage, but great decorum is observed in public. Secret nocturnal meetings of boys and girls are allowed.[4]

There is beyond question a regard for sexual purity among primitive races, and although there are many instances of laxity before marriage, the evidence adduced shows a general regard for chastity either for its inherent value as a moral trait, or because of the enhanced value which it gives to girls in the matrimonial market. There is usually in primitive society a clearly marked distinction between conduct which is permissible before marriage, and behaviour expected after espousal. The degree of regard for pre-nuptial virginity varies enormously from one geographical region to another. So far as one may speak of vast areas in general terms, the regard for pre-marital chastity appears to have been greatest among the North American Indians, and least among African races. Such differences of regard for preservation of maidenhood may

[1] "The Aborigines of Tasmania," p. 13.
[2] Howitt's "Native Tribes of S.E. Australia, p. 300.
[3] Seligman and Seligman's "The Veddas of Ceylon," p. 89.
[4] Seligman's "Melanesians of British New Guinea," pp. 77, 134.

be dependent on physiological differences due to climatic and racial causes.

Undoubtedly the place of woman in primitive society is inferior to that of man with regard to her inclusion in tribal council, and the provision of a specialised education in recognition of more than average ability. In primitive

A Hopi Girl (Arizona).
The virgin style of hairdressing has to be changed on marriage.

A Hopi Woman (Arizona) (note the Matron Locks).

society, however, the disparity of social status in relation to sex is a matter of division of labour, which in its turn results from undeniable distinctions between the physical strength of men and women. Relegation of woman to an inferior position may have resulted from intrusion of war and cruelty into societies where pugnacity was unknown.[1] Women are not mere articles of merchandise, though a

[1] W. J. Perry, "Origin of Magic and Religion," 1923, p. 115.

bride price is exacted, and in various instances, though early betrothals are the rule, a girl may exercise some choice and compulsory marriages are not universal. The social status of married women is considerably above that of single girls, but as a rule there is rapid decline in prestige and popularity in case of a barren wife. Among the Masai, barren wives are not cast off by the husband provided they have visited the medicine man in the prescribed ceremonial way. "In the event of a woman remaining childless after these rites have been performed her husband does not cast her off, as absence of fertility is supposed to be the will of Ngai (God)."[1] Throughout the following chapter we have to deal with prevailing moral standards and their unconscious absorption by juveniles. There the evidence shows that severe punishments for adultery are the rule and the following statement of Dr. Rivers respecting the Todas of Southern India must be regarded as exceptional. "A woman may have one or more recognised lovers as well as several husbands. I was assured by several Todas, not only that adultery was no motive for divorce, but that it was in no way regarded as wrong."[2] The reader should bear in mind that such a statement refers to a people among whom males preponderate, and the custom of temporary marriage to each of several males, for short definite periods, does not imply promiscuity. Possibly the custom arose in order to preserve peace among the male population.

A conclusion of statements referring to the social status of women should be followed by some account of the educational methods adopted in order to qualify women for their position in primitive society.

General Training of Girls

Domestic training is of primary importance, and as a rule this proceeds in a perfectly natural way by a process

[1] Hinde and Hinde's "The Last of the Masai," p. 72.
[2] "The Todas," p. 529.

of unconscious imitation. While boys are busy with their hunting, toy weapons, canoes, or mimic warfare, little girls nurse dolls, which are soon discarded for real babies, carry wood, collect berries, draw water, hoe the ground, or make string bags and small articles of pottery. There is not a vigorous suppression of childish play, but at a very early age, say from six to ten years, female children spontaneously merge their play into domestic tasks in imitation of their elders.

The mother may be responsible for training her girls, who accompany her to the farm, where they learn hoeing and planting. At home, the daughters are taught how to cook, and in addition to this they learn head shaving, hair combing, facial and bodily decoration with paints, also dress-making and the construction of baskets from palm fronds.[1] In addition to sewing skins and carrying water, women sometimes go fifteen miles for firewood. A young girl of thirteen years of age has been seen to carry a load of thirty pounds of bananas for fourteen miles in one day.[2] Girls have some games of their own, but very seldom do they join in with the boys. From their earliest years they are trained to work, and playing is considered frivolous and unwomanly. More young women than men may be seen paddling canoes, the boys prefer to play and watch their sisters work. As soon as the girls are old enough they are initiated into the art of pottery-making, cooking, and other domestic duties.[3] Girls of Guiana as soon as they can work begin to help the older women. "Even the youngest girl can peel a few cassava roots, watch a pot on the fire, or collect and carry home sticks of firewood.[4] Ainu women teach girls to nurse children, to prepare

[1] Weeks's "Among Congo Cannibals," p. 146.

[2] Routledge and Routledge's "With a Prehistoric People" (the Akikuyu), p. 124.

[3] Hardy and Elkington's "The Savage South Seas," p. 34.

[4] im Thurn's "Among the Indians of Guiana," p. 219.

Women weeding a Maize Garden.
(A. Werner : " British Central Africa." Constable & Co.)

Women pounding Maize in Yao Village.
(*Photo : A. Werner :* " British Central Africa." Constable & Co.)

bark and weave it into cloth, to work in the garden, to cook, also how to thatch huts and cut firewood. Girls are told how to tattoo their lips, and at the same time are informed of legends dealing with this decoration. Other information imparted by elder women to young females includes a knowledge of etiquette toward men and ability to wail for the dead.[1] The domestic occupations which are taught vary, of course, with the geographical area and condition of society under consideration. Shan girls are taught to extract cotton seeds from the bolls, also how to set long strands to the loom. One of their first occupations is the watching of the domestic fire, which burns on a deep layer of sand in a box. Bringing water is a stock occupation. Among the Shans the education of girls is more elaborate than the instructional processes considered in our foregoing pages, for Buddhistic and European influence has rapidly affected the material culture of a naturally intelligent people. Shan girls learn to cook, spin, weave, wash clothes, cut and sew their own garments, and in weaving elaborate designs a high standard of skill is attained. "Shan girls have busy and happy lives. They have their own work to do and this includes modelling and baking of pots, sewing bamboo hats, boiling and pounding bark for paper, and rolling tobacco into long cheroots." [2]

Hindu girls of the agricultural classes learn various domestic tasks, including the making of butter and curds, two staple articles of diet, also the baking of rice, barley, and wheaten cakes. The use of the spinning wheel is taught in addition to these culinary tasks, and along with little boys the girls take cattle and goats to pasture, milk cows, carry water to the seed beds, scare birds, glean, carry to the threshing floor, and winnow the grain. Domestic education is usually carried out by the grand-

[1] Batchelor's "The Ainus of Japan," p. 110.
[2] Milne's "The Shans at Home," pp. 43, 49, 61.

mother or some widow who lives in the house. These elderly females use a strict discipline and a sharp tongue which is thought to be much more effective than the training that could be given by an affectionate mother. When the young girl is married at the age of ten or twelve years, the mother-in-law keeps a watchful eye on her, supplying abundance of work in the way of cooking and spinning in order to keep her young charge from mischief.[1]

In East Malekula, an island of the New Hebrides, young girls play with the boys until they are eight years of age. At the early age of five years a girl begins to weed in the yam plantation, from that time onward agricultural and domestic duties are her daily tasks, and of course continue to be so after she marries at the age of twelve years.[2]

Evidently there is good reason to suppose that domestic, agricultural, and pastoral duties are the lot of young girls from a very early age, and the following quotation may be regarded as a revelation of a quite unusual line of conduct on the part of primitive parents :—

" Prior to marriage the young girls [*i.e.* of the Masai Tribe of Kenya Colony] do nothing of a menial nature. They spend their time in dancing, singing and adorning themselves, and though they live with the warriors they are excused from all work. More usually they do not even cook the food they eat. As young married women their sole duties consist of tending their children and cooking the food for their household. This life continues until they are past the age of child-bearing. It is then that their term of hardship begins for all work of a strenuous nature is relegated to the old women." [3]

Almost imperceptibly the play of little girls merges into serious domestic or agricultural work, possibly into

[1] Crooke's " Native Tribes of Northern India," pp. 181, 183, 186.
[2] G. Serbelov, *The American Anthropologist*, 1913, vol. xv, p. 277.
[3] Hinde and Hinde's " The Last of the Masai," chap vi, pp. 67–8.

A-Kamba Woman carrying Firewood.

(*Photo : C. W. Hobley :* "Ethnology of the A-Kamba." Cambridge University Press.)

A-Kamba Women pounding Sugar-cane to make Beer.

(*Photo : C W. Hobley :* "Ethnology of the A-Kamba." Cambridge University Press.)

both. At an early age of from five to eight years boy playmates are abandoned and the acquisition of life's duties is commenced in earnest.[1]

The greater number of references to the training of girls for domestic or agricultural work are concerned with the informal training given in the home by a mother, grandmother, or other female relation, and the important training afforded by juvenile play is evident.

There is, in addition to the unconscious absorption of utilitarian knowledge, a formal training in domestic matters, which are dealt with by an instructress when the girl is secluded at puberty. Examples of this method of training females by instruction of a direct personal kind, given during an intensive course of preparation for marriage, are not so abundant as instances relating to the initiation of boys. The paucity of anthropological evidence on this point does not warrant the statement that puberty rites of girls do not as a rule contain direct teaching of a practical kind. Women students in the field are not numerous and, as we have already observed, primitive man is reticent respecting matters relating to females of the tribe, neither are the women themselves likely to divulge their secrets to male inquirers.

Girls of the Nandi Tribe of Kenya Colony are taken at puberty to a big house in which old women are playing friction drums. In this place the girls are taught their duties as wives, after which they return home and assist their mothers in the house until the time for their marriage is at hand.[2] Among the Yao and Angoni, the girls' initiation lasts a month, which is spent in the seclusion

[1] Werner's "The Natives of British Central Africa," p. 121; Thomas's "Native Races of Australia," p. 179; Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," vol. i, p. 191; Codrington's "The Melanesians," p. 231; Williamson's "The Ways of the South Sea Savage," pp. 255–6; Milne's "The Shans at Home," p. 41.

[2] Hollis's "The Nandi," p. 60.

of the bush in the company of an instructress, generally an old woman of some importance, who is paid a fee in calico for each candidate. This elderly tutor, who receives the title of "cook of the mysteries," instructs the girls in house-building, pot-making, cooking, and other duties of married life. The pupils are given a regular drill in these duties, as well as in the methods of pounding corn and carrying water; also in agricultural work the novices receive instruction.[1] Daughters of Canario nobles (evidently the plebeians receive no such advantage) are sent to convents in the mountains, where old women of good life teach them how to adorn skins, how to make baskets and mats of reeds, also the correct ways of manufacturing thread from tendons of goats, and recognised methods of making needles from spines and bones of fish.[2] At Lepers' Island, a betrothed girl of ten years of age is taken by her future mother-in-law to the home of the boy she intends to marry. Here domestic work is taught to the prospective bride, and the betrothed children play together. "When the girl is growing big the parents take her back for tattooing, which is done in lines all over her body, and from this time she is always clothed."[3]

Respecting the Salish and Dene tribes of British North America, C. Hill-Tout says:—"From the moment a girl reaches puberty the whole course of her existence is changed. She may no longer associate or play with the boys, the serious work of life has begun, and when her puberty rites have been performed she is kept in the lodge with the women."[4] Here the girl is taught to tan hides, weave, spin, and assist in general household work, a round of duties which mark the commencement of a life of service

[1] Werner's "The Native Tribes of British Central Africa," p. 126.

[2] Alice Cook, *The American Anthropologist*, 1900, vol. ii, p. 478. Article entitled "The Aborigines of the Canary Islands."

[3] Codrington's "The Melanesians," p. 241.

[4] Hill-Tout's "The Natives of British North America," p. 247.

KAVIRONDO WOMEN GOING FISHING.
(Sir J. Bland-Sutton : " Man and Beast in Ethiopia.")

LOANGO WOMAN AT WORK.
(Ratzel : " History of Mankind.")

and labour. Girls of the North-west Amazon tribes are secluded just before marriage in a bush lodge under the charge of an old woman. Here they are taught the duties which they will shortly have to undertake.[1] It is not unreasonable to suppose that such duties include a knowledge of household management.

Circumcision and Solitude as Factors in Training

As a supplement to formal and informal training in domestic duties and agriculture, there is a seclusion of girls at puberty, at which time their peculiar physiological state gives rise to primitive superstition, and the young females are isolated so that contact with the general community cannot take place.

Mere isolation cannot be regarded as educational in itself, neither does primitive man intend it to be so. The segregation of young males or females is a preliminary to their launching forth into tribal life, prior to which they are made to understand that an important step is about to be taken.

When Nandi girls have arrived at marriageable age their fathers arrange a circumcision festival at which the operation of excising the clitoris is performed.[2] Three days before the event girls have a strong purgative and shave their heads, while at the same time they receive ornaments from friends. The girls dress in men's garments and after the operation, provided courage is shown, the young females are allowed to wear presents given to them by warriors, who stand a quarter of a mile away during the ceremony, which is concluded by a dance. The operation is performed by old women, who are the only people present. As a test of physical endurance the operation is severe,

[1] Whiffen's "The North-west Amazons," pp. 157–8.

[2] Hastings's "Dictionary of Religion and Ethics" gives valuable discussion of the origin, varieties and geographical distribution of clitoridectomy.

for the girl is made to balance a ball of mud on her knee, head, and great toe, and she is said to be a coward if these are displaced. Should she show the necessary bravery her warrior companion comes to offer his presents, but, on the contrary, these gifts are thrown away if the girl has proved cowardly.

Following the dance which succeeds this circumcision ceremony the girls retire to their mothers' houses, where they remain under certain restrictions. Only the best foods may be eaten, and these the girl must not touch with her hands until four days after the circumcision, at which time the ceremonial of washing hands is performed. Patients who are recovering from the ceremony of circumcision wear long robes and facial masks which completely conceal their identity. When completely recovered, the girls have to submerge themselves in water four times, and if no man offers himself as a husband the seclusion still continues. During this time the young women are forbidden from taking any steps to secure a husband; on the contrary, they are expected to be retiring in behaviour. The girls may not stand near anybody; they must not call anyone by name; they may not enter a corn-field or cattle kraal; neither may they do any work.[1]

When Masai girls wish to marry they are circumcised. On the day of operation a sheep or bullock is slaughtered; the ceremony takes place indoors and, unlike the case of the Nandi, there is no disgrace in calling out when the excision is made.[2]

Before their wedding all free-born Ekoi girls of Nigeria spend a time in the fatting house, where they are not allowed to wash their faces or do any work. If parents are too poor to allow this idle isolation, which appears to have no object but that of increasing the physical attraction of young

[1] Hollis's "The Nandi," p. 57 *et seq.*
[2] *Idem*, "The Masai," p. 299.

POT-MAKING AT NOFIA BY PROFESSIONAL WORKERS, WHO HAVE THEIR WHOLESALE AND RETAIL PRICES.

Implements used are a flat dish as a rest for the broken neck of the calabash on which the pot has to rest, a piece of calabash for rounding the sides of the interior, a leaf for smoothing the mouth, and a varnish made from bark and mineral matter.

(*Photo : N. W. Thomas, Nigeria.*)

women, their daughters are regarded as of low social status.[1] This connection between seclusion and social status has a parallel in the seclusion of Melanesian boys of Saa. Detention in the Club-house confers a social distinction, and fathers will make a great sacrifice to keep their sons in comparative idleness, although the boys are learning only the art of fishing.[2]

The Ekoi seclude their girls in the fatting house for periods varying from a few weeks to two years, but there is no evidence of useful instruction being given. Usually the tedium of confinement is relieved by painting on the walls of the hut certain marks indicating the number of "moons" spent in seclusion. Clitoridectomy may be performed before the girl leaves the fatting house, but, on the contrary, the operation might have been performed in infancy, or it may be deferred until after the birth of the first child. This fatting process is concluded by corporal decoration and painting which are succeeded by a feast.

Domestic training given to Yao girls during seclusion has already been noted. There is, however, a certain amount of ethical instruction given by the "cook of the mysteries." The instructress warns the young women of penalties which follow conjugal infidelity. The girls are anointed with oil mixed with "medicines," their heads are shaved, and they are dressed in bark cloth, which is almost in disuse in everyday life. Toward the close of the ceremony the girls carry over their heads either the actual roof of a house or a model, in order to symbolise their future position as pillars of the home. "The whole proceeding is called, 'being danced,' and though pubertal girls ready for marriage are the usual pupils, female children of seven or eight years are sometimes admitted." [3]

[1] Talbot's "In the Shadow of the Bush," pp. 106–7, 293.
[2] Codrington's "The Melanesians," p. 233.
[3] Werner's "The Natives of British Central Africa," pp. 126–7.

Anyanja ceremonies of a similar kind occupy one day only during which the girls are kept in seclusion with an old woman. Men disguised as animals dance with the girls who gyrate round figures of animals drawn in the sand. There is no definite information respecting the instruction given but a point of importance is the conferring of a new name on each novice. Girls are impressed by the fact that in future they will be regarded as adult women, decorous conduct will be required, and the name of childhood is never again used except in cases of well-deserved reproach.[1]

Akikuyu girls are circumcised between the ages of ten and fifteen years, and for a period of three months they have a holiday, but are required to live in a camp separate from that of the boys. Routledge says :—

" When a girl is from ten to fifteen years of age comes the great day of initiation into the tribe. No man would marry a girl who had not gone through these rites, but the girls do not marry very young, not apparently before sixteen or seventeen years of age or later. These young years are very cheerful ones to the Akikuyu maiden. She, of course, assists her mother in the household and fields." Girls show great gaiety at the dances held every moonlight night, and on these occasions young women choose their own partners, in fact, betrothal is entirely their own affair.[2] Such considerate treatment is by no means universal in primitive societies.

Daughters of Canario nobles are sent to convents of vestals situated on high secluded mountains until they reach

[1] Werner's " The Natives of British Central Africa," p. 127.

[2] Routledge and Routledge's " With a Prehistoric People " (the Akikuyu), p. 124. With regard to enforcing the fulfilment of marriage pledges given by parents, there is the greatest diversity of treatment in primitive societies. A girl who objects to the marriage arranged by her parents may be severely beaten. If she runs away after marriage her legs are burned. If a young girl elopes and is caught she is killed. G. Serbelov, *The American Anthropologist*, 1913, vol. xv, p. 277. Article entitled " Natives of East Malekula, New Hebrides."

A Girl of the Tonga Islands with Maiden Locks.
(*Photo : J. J. Lister, St. John's College, Cambridge.*)

the marriageable age of twenty years. Domestic duties are taught, but it is considered necessary that the instructress should be a woman of good life.[1]

In the western islands of Torres Strait seclusion is a most prominent part of the pubertal training of girls, though the duration and character of the isolation vary greatly from one island to another. Seclusion may take place in a dark corner of the house, in the bush, or on the sea-shore. Many restrictions are imposed at this critical time partly as a training in self-restraint and to some extent as the outward evidence of superstitions which the savage associates with the first menstrual period. There are usually food restrictions, prohibitions against the novice seeing daylight, against contact of any kind with the male sex, also against touching the ground.[2]

At Saibai, girls repair to the bush, where they remain for a fortnight under the shade of a tree around which other girls and adult women perform dances. During this period an old woman does the cooking and feeds the novice, who is not allowed to handle her own food. The girl who is isolated must not see a man, and women who have been near her must wash in salt water before speaking to a man. Turtle is a prohibited food for the pubertal girl and all women who have come into contact with her.[3]

In the islands of Yam and Tutu the young girl is blackened all over with charcoal, after which she is accompanied to the bush by a married woman. The novice wears a long petticoat for the first time, and her advance into womanhood is made impressive by ceremonial dancing, food taboos, prohibitions against contact with men, also by an occasional beating from the old woman who looks after her.

[1] Alice Cook, *The American Anthropologist*, 1900, vol. ii, p. 478. Article entitled "Aborigines of the Canary Islands."

[2] "Reports of Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait," vol. v, p. 201.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 202.

At the end of a month the novice, her instructress, and the dancing women go into the sea, where the charcoal is removed from the young girl, who is then adorned with armlets, necklaces, a feather through the septum of the nose, coconut oil for the hair, red ochre for the head, and black pigment for the body. Thus adorned, the young girl returns to her home, where she is received with weeping and lamentation because she has been so long away.[1]

One of the most impressive examples of ceremonial training at puberty, so far as rites for Indian girls of North America are concerned, may be found in *The American Anthropologist*.[2]

The ceremony is observed by various tribes of Southern California who have supported the custom from a remote period. The observer learned from careful inquiry among old women that the object of the ceremony is to prepare girls for matrimony. When arriving at puberty the young females are warned that they are selected for initiation, but of the rites connected therewith they show no dread.

Preliminary arrangements are made by digging a pit, some three to five feet in diameter, in which green herbs and a fire are placed. The girls appear wrapped in blankets, and so swathed they lie on the herbs. Apparently the novices are very happy, for they laugh and talk during the four consecutive days and nights that they remain in the pit. This levity is quite unusual in initiation ceremonies, during which novices are expected to be afraid and impressed by their strange surroundings.

During the seclusion old women dance, sing, and wave branches to drive away evil spirits. The isolation does not appear to be very strict, for " occasionally visitors join in." Coins are scattered among the crowd by old women in

[1] " Reports of Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait," vol. v, p. 202. Compare " From Birth to Death in the Gilbert Islands," A. Grimble, *J.A.I.*, 1921, p. 42.

[2] Vol. viii, p. 28.

order to teach the girls to be generous. Calico and wheat are given to the old and needy in order to supply a practical lesson in unselfishness. Grain is showered on the girls in order to make them prolific, and at the end of these symbolic acts all strangers and visitors are dispersed by the chief.

After receiving garlands, the girls are led to a hill-side, where they are shown a sacred stone which is said to protect them. It is believed and taught that the sweating or roasting in the pit expels evil spirits, which take refuge in the stone. The burial of the stone at the conclusion of the ceremony is meant to impress the girls with the belief that their juvenile natures are interred. The hidden stone contains and controls evil spirits, which will not return to the girls provided they do what is right.[1]

Observations made by Kroeber in 1903 are on the whole corroborative of the foregoing evidence respecting puberty rites of girls. This authority mentions the ceremonial being practised by Indians of Shoshonean stock, notably the Pauma and Rincon peoples of Northern San Diego. The girls are laid on their backs near a pit fire at which flat stones are heated before being placed on the abdomens of the novices. A peculiar head-dress has to be worn by the initiates for several months after the rites, and for the whole of this time meat and fish are forbidden. The Indians allege that these ceremonies are held in order to make good women of the girls, who are talked to by their relatives and advised to be good and generous.[2] Probably the sweat bath in the fire pit symbolises the throwing off of physical and moral impurity, it is analogous to the sea bath of the Saibai girl when her month of seclusion is ended.[3] These rites for Indians of North America have a moral tone which

[1] Horatio N. Rust, *The American Anthropologist*," vol. viii, 1906, p. 28. " A Puberty Ceremony of the Mission Indians."

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 31. Notes by A. L. Kroeber.

[3] " Reports of Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait," vol. v, p. 202.

distinguishes them from the mere seclusion and circumcision which are characteristic of African ceremonies. The acts of distributing gifts to the poor, likewise the admonition to be good and generous, and the burial of evil demons with the sacred stone, are indicative of the bestowal of a new and better nature with which the girl begins her adult career.

Among North-west Amazonian Indians "elders take the young of each sex apart and teach them." There is evidence of seclusion, but there does not appear to be any training in principles of conduct.

"For girls, there are secret lodges in the bush under the protection of older women of the tribe. Girls are taught in these lodges the duties which they will shortly have to undertake. They learn to dance, sing, and paint themselves for festivals. The girls' isolation is not absolute, as there is always secret communication between the hidden lodge and tribal house. No girl is allowed to return to the tribe until her marriage has been arranged.[1]

Isolation of a girl during her first menstrual period is practised by Veddas who have come into contact with Tamils or Sinhalese. When the girl is unwell for the first time, a pot of water is placed on her head and dashed to the ground so that it breaks at the foot of an "inuga" tree marking the place of seclusion in the bush. The girl is then shut in a specially built shelter in which she stays until the end of her period, at which time she washes and returns to her parents. During seclusion, the pubertal girl is always looked after by another young girl, who brings food cooked in a specially reserved pot that is not allowed on the domestic fire.[2] The breaking of the pot may symbolise a departure from the life of childhood, but the seclusion, apart from the opportunity that it affords for reflection on the responsi-

[1] Whiffen's "The North-west Amazons," pp. 157–8.
[2] Seligman and Seligman's "The Veddas of Ceylon," p. 94.

Chin Tattooing of Eskimo Girl.

This peculiar sign of marriageability is found among many races in different parts of the world.

(*Photo : Jesup Expedition.* American Museum of Natural History, New York.)

Tattooing an Eskimo Girl by sewing a Blackened Thread under the Skin.

(*Photo : Jesup Expedition.* American Museum of Natural History, New York.)

bilities of womanhood, does not appear to serve any instructional purpose.

A very remarkable ceremony of the "Second birth," symbolising the advent of adult life for both boys and girls, is practised by the Akikuyu.

The act, which is an imitation of the birth of the individual, is not connected with circumcision or any of the other ordinary pubertal rites. "Unless the new birth has been administered the individual is not in a position to be admitted to circumcision, which is the outward sign of admittance to the nation. People who have not gone through the rite of second birth cannot inherit property or take any part in the religious rites of the country." [1]

Tattooing

The importance of physical preparations for womanhood have, to some extent, been noted in accounts dealing with circumcision, tonsure, decorating the body with ornaments and pigments, also ceremonial bathing. Arrival at puberty is in many parts of the world recognised by elaborate tattooing, in fact the process may extend from pre-pubertal age to the time of marriage, or to the birth of the first child.

Evidence respecting restrictions imposed on the novice, combined with the secrecy of the operation, are indicative of a meaning more important than that of mere personal ornament.

The Rev. H. A. Junod, who has contributed to anthropology a detailed account of the Ba Thonga people of Portuguese East Africa, affirms that there is in connection with the scarifying of young girls a secrecy and precaution which point to a former deep meaning which has partially disappeared.

The custom of cicatrising triangles on the shoulders, and

[1] Routledge and Routledge's "With a Prehistoric People" (the Akikuyu), p. 151.

ornamenting the abdomen with incised designs is most common among the Ba Ronga, while, in addition to being an initiatory rite and an ornament, the arrangement of triangles varies in such a way as to indicate a particular tribe. Girls must prepare for the operation by taking a special diet, which is supposed to soften the skin of the abdomen. After the operation has been completed the newly tattooed girl has to hide herself for a period of seven

Central Eskimo Tattooing done when Girls are Twelve Years of Age.
The pigment is made from soot mixed with a juice from the seaweed fucus. A blackened thread is sewn under the skin. (After Boas.)

days, a prohibition very like that in vogue among Mtyopi people.[1]

When the seven days of seclusion have elapsed the young girl appears before her lover, who sacrifices a fowl and congratulates her on the ornamental nature of the designs by remarking, " It is pretty to tattoo yourself, otherwise your belly would be like that of a fish or a white person." [2]

No doubt there is some importance to be attached to the question of personal ornament, but the ceremonial con-

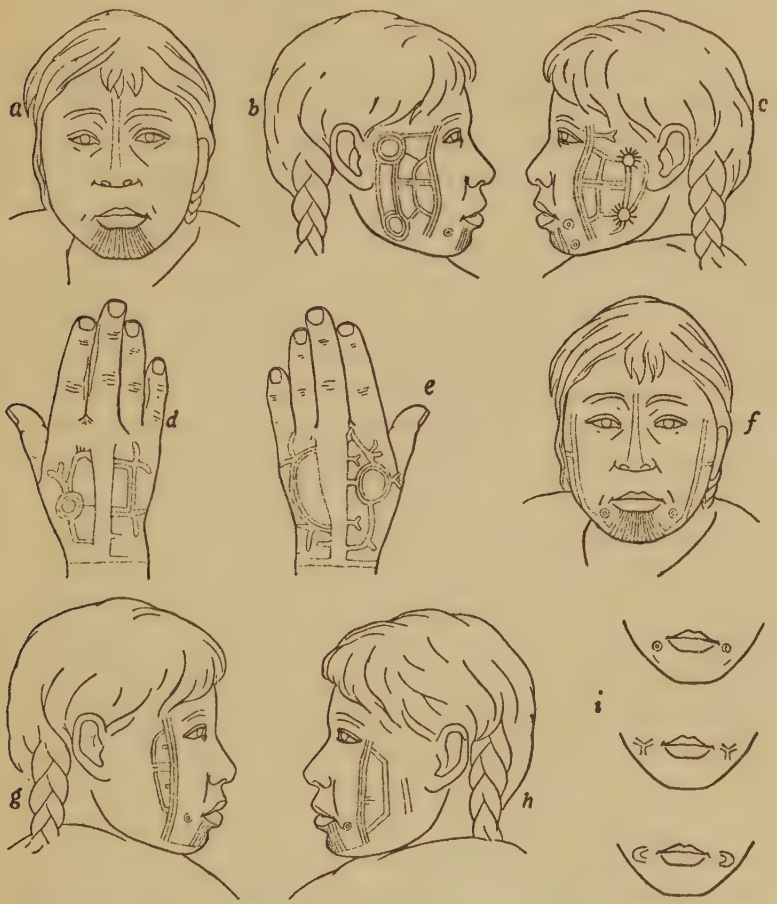
[1] See MSS. of Dr. Turner on " Coloured Mine Labourers of Johannesburg "—unpublished MSS. at Royal Anthropological Institute, London.
[2] Junod's " The Life of a South African Tribe," pp. 179–81.

TATTOOING OF AN AINU WOMAN.

The marks, which are an indispensable preparation for marriage, are said to be of divine origin. Young girls are told that if they refuse to tattoo, the marks will be given by a devil, after death, at one sitting.

(*Photo : Rev. J. Batchelor :* "The Ainu of Japan." British and Foreign Bible Society.)

nected with body-marking of young girls precludes us from agreeing with Joest's view that ornament is the primary



Tattoing, (*a*) of Reindeer Chukchee Woman, (*b*, *c*, *d*, *e*) of Eskimo Woman, (*f*, *g*, *h*) of Maritime Chukchee Woman, (*i*) of Men.

concern of all who undertake to be decorated, and that religious and magical significance is slight.[1]

After the sacrifice of a fowl the ceremonial and precautions are not complete. During the whole process of

[1] W. Joest, "Die Tatowirung," Berlin, 1887, pp. 60–5.

healing the girl is " taboo," as she would be if suffering from a disease, and as a consequence of this taboo, she may not put salt in her food, may not share the food of other people, neither may she leave her own village.

The tattooing of a Kayan girl is a serious operation, which is performed at intervals between the ages of four and eighteen years, and in connection with the practice there are some important positive and negative observances which show the connection between tattooing and primitive superstition.

On no account may the operation be performed in seed time, or if a dead person is lying in the house, while the work is interrupted if the operator should dream of floods; such a dream indicates excessive bleeding of the patient. A tattooed woman may not eat the flesh of the monitor lizard, and her husband is under a similar restriction, so that man and wife are under restraint until their first child is born.[1]

Much importance is attached to the hereditary office of professional tattooer, which is a specialised occupation for certain girls who through life are subject to restrictions because of their craft. The office of tattooist is said to be under the direction of a tutelary spirit, and so long as the children of the artist are young she may not with safety pursue her avocation. Should the tattooist fail to observe this rule her health will suffer, and the designs she imprints will fade. The operator has to give her patient a small present because blood has been shed, for it is believed that the artist herself would go blind if such a ceremonial gift was omitted.[2]

The tattooing must begin on a day named " butit halap," namely, the ninth day after new moon. Among the Batang Kayan, tattooing may not be done in the communal house, but only in a hut built specially for

[1] Hose and McDougall's " The Pagan Tribes of Borneo," vol. i, p. 252.
[2] *Ibid.*, p 254.

KAYAN TATTOOING (SARAWAK).
The women are standing on a rock overlooking a river.
(*Photo : Dr. C. Hose :* " Pagan Tribes of Borneo.")

KALABIT TATTOOING (SARAWAK).
Superstition demands that the V-shaped portion on the backs of thighs shall be left untattooed in order to avoid blood-poisoning.
Photo : Dr. C. Hose : " Pagan Tribes of Borneo.")

the purpose, while the males belonging to the family of the girl who is being tattooed are required to wear special bark cloth garments, neither must they venture out of doors until the tattooing operation is completed.[1]

Should any male member of the family be absent the operation is postponed until his return. A sacrificial rite is observed among the Long Glat people who cause a woman who is being tattooed to kill a black fowl for the artist each day.[2]

The facts adduced show that among the Kayan peoples there is a very definite association of the tattooing operation with possible misfortunes. Restrictions and rites, including the sacrifice of a black fowl each day, suggest the cautious approach of an operation which may do an injury to the patient or the artist.

Sir J. G. Frazer has observed that the custom of tattooing women at puberty is possibly not for mere ornament, but may be undertaken to guard against dangers which the savage apprehends at this period of life.[3] There is certainly considerable evidence to show that tattooing is regarded by many primitive people as a necessary physical preparation for marriage.

Women of Roro-speaking tribes of British New Guinea are all tattooed from head to foot and the operation is commenced when a girl is from five to ten years of age. The work is performed by some skilled old woman, generally a relative of the girl, and for her services the artist is fed, but not otherwise remunerated.

Every Koita [4] woman is covered with designs, which are the same as those used by the Motu, from whom the practice has probably been learned, and the ceremonial order in which the parts of the body are treated is worthy of note.

[1] Hose and McDougall's "The Pagan Tribes of Borneo," vol. i, p. 262.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 263. [3] "Totemism and Exogamy," vol. iv, p. 207.
[4] Seligman's "Melanesians of British New Guinea," pp. 73, 276–7.

The artist commences by tattooing the hands and forearms of the girl when the child is five years of age. Between the ages of six and seven years the lower part of the abdomen and the inner surface of the thighs are decorated, while the chest designs are executed when the girl has attained the age of ten years. When puberty is reached the back is tattooed from the shoulders downward, but the final marking in the form of a triangular pattern at the neck is not given until the girl's marriage has been arranged.

On the completion of the main part of the tattooing operation a feast of five days' duration is given by the girl's parents, and on the last day of the festivities a few finishing touches are given to the tattooed designs; the young woman is then named "waho." This term is used to express the idea that the girl has arrived at a certain stage in her progress toward womanhood. The novice is decked with ornaments of shell and bone, in which finery she parades ceremonially up and down the village, while for five days she is expected to sit on the verandah of her father's house wearing the ornaments given to her at the time of feasting.

During this period of introduction to public life the girl may walk only down the centre of the village, and she must take care to avoid all menial work such as gardening and drawing water. When eating, there are taboos to be observed, the most important of which forbids the girl to touch food with her hands, she uses a primitive kind of fork wrapped in a banana leaf.

Among the Naga tribes of Assam the physical preparation of girls for adult life is accomplished by tattooing, which is carried out by instalments during cold weather. The statement that the operator is an old woman once more draws attention to the fact that there are specialised vocations for women in primitive society. The elderly artist uses pigments made from the juices of wild indigo, which she pricks into the skin with splinters of bamboo. The girls

MEKEO TATTOOING.
The marks have been blackened.

(R. W. Williamson : "Ways of the South Sea Savage."
Messrs. Seeley, Service & Co., Ltd.)

are subject to a restricted diet during the tattooing operation, neither is it permissible for a novice to leave her own village until the decoration is complete.[1]

Decorating the bodies of young girls whether by tattooing, distending the ear lobes, or affixing personal ornaments of a permanent kind, must be regarded as part of a physical education which the savage regards as a necessary preparation for womanhood. Of the many varieties of personal ornament tattooing is the most important, because of its connection with ceremonial and ritual. Taboos, and rites enforced because of long precedent, point to association of tattooing with the general mysteries of puberty. Without bodily decoration in the form of tattoo marks or cicatrices, a young girl of the Nagas, Kayans, Maoris, Ainu, Melanesians, Polynesians, Abipiones,[2] and many other peoples of world-wide distribution would be regarded as totally unfit for matrimony; in other words, the girl's education would have been very much neglected.

Specialised Training of Girls

Anthropological evidence shows that boys of primitive tribes receive a standardising education which frequently takes the form of initiation ceremonies. In addition to the minimum of physical and moral training given to each youth at puberty, irrespective of his social status, there is recognition of special innate abilities which the savage educates. Hence boys with the essential natural qualifications may be trained for the post of medicine man, a most important office in primitive society.

For girls also there is a standard of education, varying, of course, with the tribe and locality. A knowledge of domestic and agricultural work is indirectly taught in the

[1] Hodson's "The Naga Tribes of Manipur," pp. 30–1.
[2] Dobrizhoffer, "Abipiones of Paraguay," London, 1822, vol. ii, p. 19.

home, or it may be imparted by direct training during a period of seclusion in the bush.

It now remains to be seen whether primitive races give certain girls a specialised training so that they may occupy important positions in their own society. The office of tattooist is generally important and hereditary as the operative is skilled and well remunerated.[1] Midwives are specially prepared for their vocation, though, as the evidence adduced in Chapter I of this work shows, the skill of the primitive maternity nurse is of a low order, and we have no knowledge of the preparation which student midwives receive.

Dedication of Girls to Religious Service.—Without doubt the most important form of specialised education for girls is that which dedicates them to the service of temples and gods. But in considering instances of girls being used in order to uphold religious ceremonial, we shall have to note a great deal which is gross and material; in some instances the young women set apart for spiritual service are dedicated in order to become prostitutes.

The ancient prototype of modern dedication of girls to temple service is to be found in records of dynastic Egypt, where female singers were found in the temples in great numbers. The god of the temple was regarded as an earthly prince, and the singers who made music in his presence were inmates of the house of women. Singers constituted the harem of the god, and held degrees of social status just as they would in the harem of a prince. Certain women bore the title of "chief concubine of the god," and the wife of the god possessed considerable property.[2]

Roscoe notes for the Baganda people a practice reminiscent of the function of the vestal virgins of Rome; the use

[1] Hose and McDougall's "The Pagan Tribes of Borneo," vol. i, p. 252; Seligman's "Melanesians of British New Guinea," pp. 73, 276–7; Hodson's "The Naga Tribes of Manipur," p. 30.

[2] Erman's "Life in Ancient Egypt," p. 295.

of the past tense probably indicates that the custom of employing girls in the temples is not now commonly practised.

In most of the Baganda temples there were numbers of young girls dedicated to the god. Their special duties were to keep guard over the fire in the temple, which had to be kept burning by day and night, also to see that no profane article was brought into the sanctuary. In addition to providing wood and water, these dedicated girls guarded a sacred pipe and tobacco used by mediums before giving the oracle. The persons of these assistant priestesses were sacred and no man was allowed to show familiarity toward them. As a rule girls who were set apart for temple service were children of mothers who had conceived, after making petitions to the gods on account of their barren condition. At the time of special intercession, childless women made a vow to the effect that a female child should be given over to religious service in the house of god as soon as the infant was weaned. When the age of puberty was reached the god of the temple decided whom the girl was to marry.[1]

Respecting the Ewe-speaking peoples of West Africa, there is direct evidence of prostitution among girls dedicated to temple service. Ellis says that the chief business of these girls is prostitution. The young females have to enter the temple service for three years, during which time they learn the chants and dances peculiar to the temple god. They are not reproached for laxity of morals, but on the contrary are said to be married to the god who directs their excesses.[2]

Major A. J. N. Tremearne supplies an instructive account of the religious service of young girls whose social status and prestige are much enhanced thereby. According

[1] Roscoe's "The Baganda," p. 275.

[2] "The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa," pp. 140–1.

to Martin, who wrote from Badagri in 1846, hundreds of females in the town are consecrated in a special manner to the gods. These young women spend months of confinement in houses allocated to idol worship in connection with temples. During this internment the novices are initiated into sacred mysteries, probably a rather vague term denoting ceremonial procedure connected with worship, and in addition to the ritual these dedicated girls have to acquire a special language used only by those engaged in divine service. The young priestesses have their names changed in order to indicate severance from ordinary mundane life. Their heads are shaved and the striking of a dedicated woman on the head is regarded as a most serious offence. So great is the social prestige of these women that a chief dare not oppose their will; in fact, though these women are dissolute in life, they are entitled to a veneration which enables them to acquire property by illicit means, while even their own husbands may not check the moral laxity which prevails. The personal investigation of Major Tremearne [1] supports these statements respecting dedication of women and the social status which results from specialised training and employment. G. C. Claridge states that there is no social or religious caprice to keep a woman out of the highest profession in Congoland, "where a woman is clever enough she is eligible" . . . "as a priestess she is feared and revered." [2] Cureau states that female "Ngangas," though not so numerous as males, are quite as much feared.[3] Among the Herero, the duty of maintaining the sacred fire and preserving it from extinction is entrusted to the eldest unmarried daughter of the chief by his "great wife." If he has no daughter, the task devolves on the unmarried girl who is next of kin. This female bears the title "Ondan-

[1] "The Tailed Head Hunters of Nigeria," p. 205.
[2] "Wild Bush Tribes of Tropical Africa," Lond. 1922, p. 160.
[3] "Savage Man in Central Africa," p. 303.

gere" derived from the name of the sacred fire. Her duties include rubbing holy ashes on the foreheads of men starting on an expedition, also sprinkling water on mother and child at a naming ceremony. When the site of a village is changed, this priestess of the sacred fire walks at the head of the people and herds carrying a fire-brand from the old sacred hearth, and taking the utmost care to keep it alight.[1]

Evidence respecting dedication of girls to temple service in Southern India is quite definite in asserting that sexual licence accompanies the holding of office.

Kaikolan musicians of Coimbatore believe that at least one girl in every family should be set apart for the temple, where she is instructed in music and dancing.

During the tali-tying ceremony the girl is decorated with jewels and made to stand on a heap of paddy (unhusked rice), while a folded cloth is held up before her by two dancing girls. The novice takes hold of the cloth and her dancing master, who holds her legs, moves them up and down in time to the music.

In the evening the girl rides to the temple on a pony and on arrival she is seated facing the idol. An officiating Brahmin presents her with sandals and flowers, after which he ties round the girl's neck a tali that has been lying at the feet of the idol.

After learning music, dancing, and the *ars amoris* for a longer period the girl eventually goes through a form of marriage, at which all her relatives attend. The maternal uncle places the novice on a plank in view of the assembled guests, who watch the tying of a golden band on the girl's forehead. Meanwhile a Brahmin priest recites the mantrams and prepares a sacred fire.[2]

[1] C. J. Andersson, "Lake Ngami," London, 1856, p. 223; C. J. Hahn, "South African Folk Lore Journal," vol. ii, 1880, p. 62.

[2] Thurston's "Ethnographical Notes in Southern India," p. 29.

In the Bellary district the girl, during initiation for temple service, holds a wand in her right hand and a begging basket on her left arm. She is branded with the symbol "chakra," the wheel of the law, on her right shoulder, also over the right breast. A sacred symbol, the "chank," or representation of the mollusc, is made on the left shoulder.[1] In some cases the dedication of the girl to sacred service is symbolised by tattooing designs on her arm.[2] The wedding of a "basivi," or dedicated prostitute, may be made to a dagger: "The officiating priest weds the girl to the dagger just as if he was uniting her to a man."[3]

In Assam, among the Khasis, goddesses predominate over gods and priestesses over priests. Priestesses assist at all sacrifices and the male officiants are only their deputies. In Khyrim, the highpriestess and actual head of the State is a woman who combines sacerdotal and regal functions.[4]

At Poso, in Central Celebes, a priestess extracts disease in some palpable form. A god enters into the priestess to enable her to perform the ceremony and the return of the human spirit is signified by trembling and contortion. Although a distinct difference exists between the hereditary and initiated priesthoods of Indonesian peoples yet both derive their craft from the sky world. The Toradja say that their first priestess was a woman who was taken when ill to the sky and there taught the craft of the priesthood. Women work by the aid of the friendly sky spirit whom they call by name.[5]

There is apparently nothing lofty in this conception of dedicating girls to the temple service, for one is scarcely

[1] Thurston's "Ethnographical Notes in Southern India," p. 400.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 383. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 36.
[4] Major P. R. T. Gurdon, "The Khasis," London, 1907. Introduction by Sir C. J. Lyall.
[5] A. C. Kruijit, "Mijne eerste ervaringen te Poso." Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelingg nootschap, vol. xxxvi, 1892, pp. 399, 403.

Iban Women Dancing with Human Heads.
This is the "Naku" ceremony, performed at irregular intervals to give agricultural and general prosperity.

(*Photo : Dr. C. Hose :* "Pagan Tribes of Borneo.")

MAFULU WOMEN IN DANCING REGALIA.

Each holds a drum to be carried and beaten throughout the dance. Primitive society demands training for tribal ceremonies.

(R. W. Williamson: "Mafulu Mountain People of British New Guinea." Macmillans.)

justified in saying that the novices in any way act as intermediaries between the sacred and profane. Young women consecrated to religious institutions mentioned above appear as mere accessories of the temple, part of the general equipment with which a god should be provided. Evidence respecting the purity of these dedicated girls is equivocal, they may be virgins who must remain so during their consecration, or on the contrary they may be morally lax. From the educationist's point of view, the practice of dedicating girls to the temple, for which service specialised education is required, there is evidence that primitive man is willing on occasions to accord to woman a distinguished place in society. There is sufficient evidence to show that Polynesian priestesses were of importance. At an annual festival in Hawaii, it was customary to throw human bones into the crater of Kilauea. There was a belief that the souls of people whose bones were thus incinerated would be admitted to the company of volcanic deities and that their influence would preserve survivors from ravages of volcanic force. The goddess of the volcano was Pélé, and the priestess responsible for the ceremony affirmed " I am Pélé, I shall never die." [1] In Samoa Apelesa, " sacred fulness," was a goddess represented by a priestess Alaiava who prayed at parturition times, and in cases of severe illness.[2] Meinicke says that in the Pacific Islands female priests are of no exceptional occurrence.[3] Fiji had its priestesses but only a few were of sufficient importance to have a temple.[4] The Persians had their priestesses of the Sun and the evidence of Justinus and Plutarch is discussed by F. Justi.[5]

Prescott gives an account of Peruvian " Virgins of the

[1] Ellis's " Polynesian Researches," vol. iv, p. 361.
[2] Turner's " Samoa," p. 68.
[3] Carl E., Meinicke, " Inseln des Stillen Oceans," Leipzig, 1875–6, vol. p. 48.
[4] Thomas Williams, " Fiji and the Fijians," London, 1870, p. 189.
[5] " Die Weltgeschichte des Tabari In Ausland," 1875, p. 307.

Sun." These maidens were consecrated at a tender age to the deity and were entrusted with the duty of watching over the sacred fire. The greatest attention was paid to their morals and the most beautiful were selected to be concubines of the Inca, and in case of their intrigue with another man they were buried alive. In Mexico virgins of twelve years of age were consecrated to the service of their god. Chastity was obligatory and death the penalty for infidelity.[1]

When taking a broad anthropological view of these instances of consecration of girls in Africa or India, one may say that the practice, though possibly worthless from the theologian's standpoint, has a value on account of the way in which it shows the willingness of primitive man to incorporate women in matters which he considers extremely important and vital to communal interests. Priestesses are of importance in Indonesia, Formosa, and Borneo, and the world-wide adoption of females into the priesthood shows that the status of women in primitive society is not so lowly as some investigators have supposed.

Women Witch Doctors.—This readiness to accord a social status to women is in some degree exemplified by reference to instances in which females are allowed to practise as doctors, for which work we may assume a specialised training, although there is no direct evidence of the details of such preparation.

In some Central African tribes female witch doctors perform the same rites as males. A woman witch doctor always treats a patient for anæmia and debility, and in addition administers medicine to pregnant women, for whose delivery she is responsible. A male witch doctor is not allowed to attend the above cases, but in certain illnesses a woman practitioner attends male patients.[2]

[1] W. H. Prescott, "Conquest of Peru," vol. i, pp. 113–16. Bohn's Standard Library, 1902; and Joyce's "Mexican Archæology," p. 94.

[2] Weeks's "Among Congo Cannibals," p. 280.

Among Alsea Indians of Oregon any person is eligible for the office of Shaman provided the period of training and fasting is endured.[1]

The wife of a medicine man in the tribes of Blackfeet Indians gives assistance to her husband; in fact, she plays the more prominent part in treatment of a patient. The woman doctor carries out diagnosis of the complaint, applies hot stones and prays: "Hear us great spirit in the sun. Pity us and help us. Listen and grant us life. Look down in pity on this sick man, grant us power to drive out the evil spirit and give him health." [2]

Throughout the ceremonial practised by a witch doctor of the Indians of Guiana the wife gives assistance.[3] With regard to Siberia, nearly all writers agree that the position of the female Shaman in modern days is even more important than that of the male. The female practitioner looks into the future, finds lost property, and cures mental and physical diseases.[4] Among the Chukchee, woman is regarded as naturally Shamanistic, so her novitiate is shorter and less severe than that of a man. Personal ability, irrespective of sex, is the decisive factor in the Shamanistic vocation.[5] In Borneo it not infrequently happens among Malanaus, who are Klemantans of the coast region of Sarawak, that when a woman is insane or very ill she is urged to admit that a devil has possessed her and to become a medicine woman. By this means she becomes well, and at the same time acquires the power of helping others to cast out devils. But she is not able to determine of her own accord whether she shall become a medicine woman or not. She is taken through various stages and repetitions of a ceremony "bayoh" enacted at intervals. If her maladay is cured

[1] Livingstone Farrand, *The American Anthropologist*, vol. iii, 1901, p. 245, "Notes on the Alsea Indians of Oregon."

[2] McClintock's "The Old North Trail," p. 248.

[3] im Thurn's "Among the Indians of Guiana," p. 336.

[4] Czaplicka's "Aboriginal Siberia," p. 243.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 246.

by eleven nights of artificial hysteria she is considered to have been accepted by men and spirits in her new *rôle* of exorciser.[1]

Even the aborigines of Central Australia, who generally dissociate their women from all sacred matters, are willing to credit certain old women with supernatural gifts. An avenging party returning from the slaughter of an adversary is met by an old woman who is covered with pipeclay. This female taps the shields of the warriors in order to find whether the soul of the murdered man is haunting one of the avenging party. If each shield gives forth a normal sound the men are dismissed. But a hollow sound indicates that the bearer of the shield is under evil influence from the soul of an enemy who has been killed, and precautionary measures are taken to safeguard the haunted man.[2]

Special Organisations of Women.—The occurrence of a sex totem may be regarded as evidence of a recognition of women's rights and social status. Sex totems divide the Kurnai tribe into two parts, one composed of all males calling themselves emus and wrens, another section is composed entirely of females, who accept a warbler bird as their emblem. Jealousy and fighting between the sexes result from this division. When ill-feeling arises, the aggrieved person, if a woman, will kill the animal which designates the men's totem and a general fight ensues between men and women. Strange to say, this fight is an occasion for proposals of marriage, and if an agreement is made between two young people their temporary elopement takes place. Apparently there is no specialised education offered by these totem groups, but the recognition of an independent organisation of women is important.[3]

[1] Hose and McDougall's "The Pagan Tribes of Borneo," vol. ii, p. 130.
[2] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia," pp. 293, 297.
[3] Howitt's "The Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," p. 148 *et seq.*

In the Warramunga tribe there are two distinct camping grounds, one for the men and the other for the women, and each may be regarded as a primitive and rudimentary form of club-house.[1]

Women as Warriors.—When special circumstances demanded that the fighting ranks should be augmented, the Ewe-speaking peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa recruited women. The Amazons,[2] a female corps raised in 1729, were a body of women armed and furnished with banners, merely as a stratagem which would make the attacking force appear larger. They behaved with a courage totally unexpected by male warriors, and as a consequence of this gallantry the body of fighting women became a permanent institution. Before 1818 the female force consisted of criminals, who, on account of adultery, theft, or disloyalty, were deemed worthy of death. This practice of enrolling culprits gave place to the enlistment of any young females who were thought suitable when numbers of girls paraded before the king. Women selected for military service were regarded as wives of the king; they had to remain celibate, and no male might approach them without incurring a death penalty. The death sentence was passed on an Amazon who became pregnant, and so carefully were the women guarded that a bell was rung in front of marching females so that all men might keep clear of the road. These female soldiers assisted with transport, and, armed with clubs, took part in the fight. Amazons who lost their weapons or expended ammunition without bringing back a prisoner or human head were punished.[3]

[1] Spencer and Gillen's "Across Australia, vol. ii, p. 367–8.

[2] Possibly the word was first applied to female warriors inhabiting the shores of the Sea of Azov in the time of Herodotus (484–443 B.C.).

[3] Ellis's "The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa," pp. 183, 191.

Summary of Educational Factors in the Lives of Young Girls

In spite of the difficulty of gleaning accurate and detailed information concerning the education of girls, there is sufficient evidence to show that the training of young females is not neglected. For young children of every primitive tribe there is the educative value of imitative play, in which the actions and daily routine of adults of both sexes are copied. At a very early age female children are of direct service in domestic work, agriculture, and transport; so that the greater part of the training for womanhood is given indirectly to juveniles, who learn by imitation and an unconscious absorption of ideas.

To supplement this informal preparation for tribal life, there is a universal practice of secluding young females at puberty, during the first menstrual period.

During pubertal isolation, various forms of instruction are given, but in the main, the older women acting as tutors, confine their teaching to matters of personal ornament, dancing, domestic and agricultural duties. Moral instruction for girls is not so prominent as in the cases of initiatory rites for boys, nevertheless such teaching is given and the necessity for chastity after marriage, generosity, and decorous behaviour is enforced.

Young females are not allowed to merge into tribal life without warning or preparation, and the evidence is conclusive in showing that for girls, as for boys, there is a launching forth into adult existence with a strong and decided initiative. Evidence respecting sexual purity before marriage is somewhat equivocal, but on the whole it may be said that virginity in a bride is valued, though the savage is more lenient toward pre-nuptial connections than he is respecting post-nuptial irregularities. Pre-marital virginity was held in great esteem among Indians of North

West African Scarification on a Girl.

In some parts of the Congo region scarified marks are commemorative of tribal legend. Usually such decoration is of tribal, ornamental and therapeutic significance.

(*Photo : N. W. Thomas.*)

Fugar Woman (Nigeria) tracing Patterns of Animals and Implements on the Back of a Friend.

Some of the markings last for months, some only a week.

(*Photo : N. W. Thomas.*)

America,[1] and even in Africa, where the conduct of young girls is not so strictly regulated, there are instances of postponement of marriage until matrons have pronounced a verdict of purity.[2] In Samoa, valuable presents were given to a girl who had preserved her purity, and virginity had to be proved.[3]

It is important to observe that, though the standards of primitive man respecting sexual purity before and after marriage vary considerably from European ideals, an instance of ceremonial incest such as that described in Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association is rare.[4]

The physical side of a girl's initiation into tribal life is quite as well marked as that of a boy. In the course of the chapter we have had to note a widespread custom of tattooing accompanied by ceremonials of sacrifice and taboo. Personal ornaments in the form of ear-rings, nose-pins, leg-bands, collars, and armlets are given. The novice is danced, feasted, and publicly presented, while the rite of circumcision forms a pain test, and in some way not well understood is regarded by many African races as an indispensable preparation for matrimony.[5] In Egypt, circumcision of boys was practised in predynastic times and circumcision of girls may have arisen as part of the transfer of initiatory rites from males to females.

Specialised education for women is not unknown, and dedication of girls to temple service, employment of women

[1] Keating's "Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River," vol. ii, p. 169.
[2] W. W. Reade, "Savage Africa," London, 1864, p. 547.
[3] Turner's "Samoa," p. 95.
[4] R. Thurnwald, "Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association," Lancaster, U.S.A., 1916, vol. iii, p. 260. Article entitled "Initiation of Girls of the Banaro Tribe of Central New Guinea."
[5] C. G. Seligman, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1913, vol. xliii, p. 639. "Some Aspects of the Hamitic Problem in the Anglo Egyptian Sudan"—for detailed discussion of origin, antiquity, and reasons for circumcision of girls.

as doctors or prophets, midwives, tattooists, and warriors, have been recorded, though information respecting the training is scanty. Of a New Guinea chieftainess Rev. H. M. Dauncey says: "Queen Koloka rules her people well."[1]

The instances adduced can be regarded as proof of primitive man's willingness to accord to woman a social status equal to that of man. And cases of specialisation certainly indicate an elasticity of primitive social feeling which is evidently capable of evolution in a direction opposed to general stereotyped tendencies.

In Formosa, for example, many of the wild tribes are ruled by a chieftainess with whom the office of priestess is sometimes combined.[2] The Akikuyu have a council of "Kiaima" or old women in every district. Men fear the members, to whom is attributed power of witchery. "It is to be regretted that so little is known about the method of initiation and scope of their activities, but complete information could be obtained only by a female investigator who had exceptional opportunity and great sympathy. Mr. Hobley further remarks that: "In both Ukamba and Giriama old women have in recent times turned out to be at the bottom of serious political agitation."[3] Mr. W. I. Thomas reviews the evidence bearing on emancipation of women stating that females form associations in which they discuss their wrongs and form plans of revenge. Mpongwe women have an institution of this kind which is really feared by the men, and a similar arrangement exists among the Bakalais and other African tribes.[4]

Primitive woman undoubtedly has a social status dependent on freedom of birth, wealth of parents or husband,

[1] "Papuan Pictures," Lond. 1913.

[2] Janet B. McGovern, "Among the Head Hunters of Formosa, 1922.

[3] "Bantu Beliefs and Magic," chap. viii, p. 275. "Women as a factor in Tribal Organisation."

[4] "Source Book for Social Origins," 1909, p. 519.

Woman of the Ami Tribe (Formosa) making Pottery.

(*Photo: J. B. MacGovern:* "Among Head Hunters of Formosa." Fisher Unwin.)

Taiyal Woman at her Loom (Formosa).

(*Photo: J. B. MacGovern:* "Among Head Hunters of Formosa." Fisher Unwin.)

chastity, child-bearing; capacity for work which leaves men free to hunt and fight, the existence of matriarchal conditions which demand the residence of the husband with his wife's people, and the descent of property in the female line. There is also the social prestige accruing from a specialised education as tattooist, midwife, novice in temple service, priestess or medical practitioner. Age, too, may claim distinction, and we invariably find that during initiation or seclusion at puberty, the *old* women are responsible for training and preparing young girls for tribal duties and domestic work.

The importance of dancing as a training for motherhood has not been recognised by ethnologists. Miss Ettie A. Rout (Mrs. Hornibrook) points out that the abdominal, gluteal, and pelvic parts of the body are free hung, also that primitive dances, such as " danse du derrière," and " danse du ventre," thought by some people to be mere sexual vulgarities, subserve a most important hygienic function. The muscles used in these dances stir pelvic and abdominal organs, improve abdominal muscular tone, and so assist organs of generation, parturition, and evacuation.[1]

On the whole there is considerable evidence in modern anthropological literature to refute the one-time prevalent idea that women of primitive races were mere beasts of burden. In the public life of peoples of elementary development, woman does not at present play a *rôle* equal in responsibility and prestige to that of man, neither does she in civilised communities. There is, however, reason to believe that the extension of opportunities to women of civilised and erudite nations has a parallel in the lives of primitive races, who universally make an attempt to prepare their girls for useful work; while there is sporadic evidence of the recognition of special capacity, which enables a few women to occupy prominent positions in public tribal life.

[1] " Sex and Exercise," London, 1925.

Mr. W. J. Perry [1] states that although transition from mother right to father right is unexplained, it occurred within a short time of the movement of wandering warlike peoples from their homes. Warlike communities have been responsible for the subjection of women, prior to which they had been on an equality with men, possibly higher in some matrilineal communities.[1] The evidence collated in this chapter definitely shows that woman is universally regarded as a valuable tribal asset; and in reviewing instances of initiation, training, recognition of women as priestesses and other specialists, we may be noting vestiges of a one-time social organisation in which the rights and status of women were equal to those of men. In recent legislation affecting favourably the position of women in modern society and professional life, we are perhaps making a slow return to conditions prevailing before the advent of general militant habits and pugnacity, both of which tend to make physical strength the chief criterion of fitness for social distinction.

[1] "The Origin of Magic and Religion," p. 115.

CHAPTER V

THE MORAL TRAINING OF CHILDREN BY INDIRECT METHODS, ABSTRACT PRINCIPLES, AND PUBERTY RITES

Historical Considerations.—Similarity of Ethical Codes.—Are these Indigenous or Derived from a Common Source?—Evidence for Existence of Ethical Standards Relating to Hospitality, Honesty, Integrity of Thought and Conduct.—Folklore as a Factor in Moral Training; Ethical Value of Stories Inculcating Value of Honesty, Humility, Unselfishness, Charity and Perseverance.—Object Lessons Provided by Execution of Tribal Laws.—Factor of Shame as an Instrument in Moral Training.—Tragedies Resulting from Theft, Homicide, and Sexual Irregularities Act as Deterrents.—Uncertainty of Punishment a Weakness in Moral Training.—Moral Training as Affected by (*a*) Beliefs in a Discarnate Existence; (*b*) Conceptions of Deity and Acts of Prayer; (*c*) Taboos or Prohibitions.

Historical Considerations.—From various documentary sources the ethical code of the Egyptians is made clear. Conduct had a strong religious backing, though G. A. Reisner states that: "On the side of moral requirements we must not look too closely. There were powerful words which could compel even the great judges of the dead to return a favourable verdict. There existed magic hearts of stone which might be worn in place of the heart and laid in the scales by Anubis. In general, one may say that the hope of immortality had little influence on the moral life of the ordinary Egyptian."[1] Non-co-operation of religious belief and morality is, as shown in this chapter, exceedingly common among primitive peoples.

Before the weighing of the heart took place the deceased

[1] "Egyptian Conception of Immortality," p. 82.

passed along the Hall of Osiris and made the Negative Confession [1] before the "Two and Forty Assessors of the Dead." Each of these asked a question. "Hast thou committed such and such a sin?" The answers appearing in chapter cxxv of "The Book of the Dead" clearly indicate moral requirements which are impressively similar to those of primitive peoples, taught during puberty rites.[2] The Egyptian said, "I have not stolen." "I have killed neither man nor woman." "I have not committed adultery." "I have not multiplied words overmuch." With the Egyptian, as with primitive races, sin was regarded as breach of ritual or social requirements, and could be atoned for by payment, after which the law breaker was free from all obligation real or moral. In the Archaic Civilisation there was no idea of repentance, but the doctrine of retribution was later adopted and definite statements on this point appear in texts of the XIXth Dynasty.[3]

Petrie's description of the character after which the Egyptian strove is closely analogous to the formative teaching given by elders to novices in all primitive societies. The Egyptian was to be strong, steadfast, self-respecting, active, straightforward, quiet and discreet, uncovetous, without parsimony or presumption.[4] Petrie refers to the Egyptian statements, "I have not saved my life at the cost of another." "I have not done injury to men."

[1] "Declaration of Innocence" would be a better terms. Breasted, "Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt," p. 301. Budge's "Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection," vol. i, p. 339, makes an interesting comparison between this Egyptian "Declaration" and that of Calabar natives about to take the poison cup. The forty-two assessors represented forty or more administrative districts, so the deceased would be confronted by at least one judge who knew him.

[2] *Op. cit.*, chap. ii.

[3] Budge's "Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum," p. 142.

[4] "Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt," 1920, pp. 78, 90, etc.

" I have not robbed." " I have not diminished the corn measure." " I have not spoken falsehood or deceived." " Respect to elders was practised but not enjoined in earlier sayings." Other aphorisms and requirements were, " Be not greedy to fill thy stomach," a point never omitted from the teaching and self-denying ordinances of primitive initiation. " Make not a companion of a wicked man." " My mouth has not been voluble with speech." Boys at initiation are always cautioned against bad companions and slander. There is usually a silence taboo for varying periods. Primitive races do not, however, derive their ideas of infanticide from the Archaic Civilisation, for " Parents who killed their children were exposed for three days and three nights with the dead children bound to them." [1]

So far as the " Negative Confession " is concerned, the importance of individual responsibility is emphasised for Egypt. " In Babylon the legal code was based on a doctrine of individual responsibility, and private ownership was the keynote of Babylonian social life." [2] If primitive races borrowed codes of ethics from itinerant archaic cultures, this idea of individual responsibility was accepted in only a limited sense. Certainly thieves, murderers, and adulterers are held to be personally responsible, and are punished, but communal responsibility is everywhere recognised. Even to-day among primitive peoples the native police have to be cautioned not to arrest and bring to court relatives of a delinquent. These, according to native custom, would be deemed legally responsible for the crimes of a member of their family.

Certain ethical principles known to have been highly esteemed in the Archaic Civilisation of Egypt form the subjects of funerary inscriptions and texts. On the tomb

[1] " Social Life in Ancient Egypt," 1923, p. 92.
[2] A. H. Sayce, " Life and Customs of Babylonians and Assyrians," p. 32.

of Harkuf, caravan leader to the south, are the words: "I gave bread to the hungry, clothing to the naked and I ferried him who had no boat." [1] A nobleman of Elephantine is described as, "One who was beloved of his father, praised of his mother, whom his brothers and sisters loved." [2] Murder was from the earliest times deprecated in Egypt and a text of the XXIst Dynasty shows that homicide was forbidden on divine authority. "Then the high priest Menkheperre triumphant went to the great god saying, 'As for any person of whom they shall report before thee saying a slayer of living people is he, thou shalt destroy him.' Then the great god nodded, exceedingly, exceedingly." [3] All these principles are fundamental in the training of children of primitive races, and their uniform practice appears to be more consonant with the idea of adoption than with the conception of spontaneous growth because of utility, or the assumption of a divinely ingrained disposition.

The widespread use of trial by ordeal, either in combat or other test, may not be disposed of by the facile assumption of independent origin. Ordeal is everywhere regarded as an appeal to a non-human power to make a decision, and this concept may possibly be attributable to the ancient Egyptian practice of regarding Osiris as a judge who weighed the heart, representing the soul, against the feather, a symbol of righteousness. The Egyptian judgment scene and trial by ordeal agree in all essential points, which are: (1) Examination of the accused. (2) Appeal to a superhuman power. (3) Punishment of the guilty.

At a later point in this chapter, when dealing with ideas of heaven as an influence in moral teaching, it will be shown that the path to heaven is widely regarded as one

[1] Breasted's "Ancient Records of Egypt," vol. i, p. 151, par. 328.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i, par. 355.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 320, par. 658; also Budge's "Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection," vol. i, p. 350.

fraught with many dangers and difficulties, such as rushing streams, frail bridges, hostile ghosts, or trackless deserts. The hypothesis of spontaneous adoption of such ideas appears to have no recommendation; but the concepts of difficulties in transit to heaven are understandable and logical if regarded as a surviving fragment of some greater teaching from which many other essentials have disappeared since their adoption. The Egyptian postulated a long, difficult journey to heaven which might be accomplished by use of "words of power," or by numerous amulets wrapped in swathings of the mummy. Misadventure or loss of a soul on the journey was ascribed to neglect of the necessary ritual.[1]

Use of magic among primitive races is difficult to deal with from the ethical standpoint. At initiation boys are instructed in use of magic as an adjunct in love and revenge, but at the same time tribal codes of morality condemn magic which is directed against a tribesman, and special ceremonies for detection and punishment are observed. There is perhaps a clarifying of ideas by recognition of primitive man's distinction between social and anti-social forms of magic, and in this he follows the teaching of his Egyptian prototypes. Beneficent uses of magic in sickness and preservation of life in the underworld were fundamental in early Egyptian thought and procedure. But illicit use of magic for anti-social purposes was severely punished. During a conspiracy against Rameses III one of the accused began to make wax rolls and to make gods of wax for enfeebling the limbs of people, and gave them to criminals. Ra did not permit that he should succeed. They were the great crimes of death, the great abominations of the land.[2]

E. Hadfield remarks of the Loyalty Islanders that it

[1] Budge's "Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection," vol. ii, p. 158.
[2] Breasted's "Ancient Records of Egypt, vol. iv, p. 220, par. 454.

has always been possible to discover in these semi-barbarians, and quite apart from Christianity, moral qualities of a very high class.[1] Such a statement might be applied to many of the numerous and ethnically disparate people mentioned in this chapter, but similarity of ethical concepts and methods may be satisfactorily accounted for only by showing relationship to a common source. Unless moral concepts, trial by ordeal, ideas of heaven, and other factors in moral training are regarded as survivals of a uniform and migratory code, they remain unexplained except by the subterfuge of assuming a divinely implanted moral instinct. Even after the concession of a " common consciousness " leading to adoption of similar general ideas, there would remain the greater difficulty of accounting for similarity of method and belief as exemplified by such usages as moral instruction at initiation, rebirth, silence restrictions, trial by ordeal, divination, and mechanical means of attaining recognition in heaven by paint and tattoo marks.

Similarity and recurrence of these factors are explained by acknowledging their relation to an early civilisation which is known to have included them. The archaic culture of Egypt did not create ethical codes in their entirety. The almost incomprehensible lapse of time between the emergence of man from a simian ancestry and the commencement of recorded history, some six thousand years ago, must have been replete with change and intellectual growth. In the Nile Valley the conceptual progress of preceding millennia was welded into a logical, comprehensible, and workable system of ideas of great dynamic force because of its appeal to material and non-material requirements of human nature.

[1] " Among the Natives of the Loyalty Group " (Preface).

The Moral Training of Children by Indirect Methods

A study of puberty rites, and more especially those for boys, made clear the educational value of direct and forceful inculcation of precepts by tribal elders. There are without doubt equally valuable formative influences at work in an unobtrusive way before and after initiation, and it is the value of these indirect ethical factors of folklore, proverbs, daily habits of elders, and beliefs in discarnate existence which we now wish to appraise.

The ubiquity of similar moral codes has been of great interest to psychologists and philosophers. Darwin naturally viewed the problem from a biological standpoint, and postulated several chief conditions for growth of a moral sense. These relate principally to the gregarious instinct, the factor of pain as a deterrent, and the evolution of language.[1] Professor L. T. Hobhouse notes an intelligent direction of behaviour in the animal world. This conduct is extended in humanity by rise of general conceptions, though at first the principles are determined unreflectingly by the play of social forces.[2] Ethical theories arise independently of religion from reflection on experiences of human life.[3] Professor William McDougall supports what would probably find general approval, namely, that primitive races conform more strictly to their codes than do civilised societies, but conditions are so diverse as to forbid a comparison of innate moral dispositions.[4] "We are left to speculate about the earliest growth of magnanimity, compassion, general benevolence, and other virtues. They cannot be explained merely by the hunting life which so easily accounts for greed, cruelty, pride and

[1] "Descent of Man," chap. iv.
[2] "Morals in Evolution," chap. viii, p. 258.
[3] *Ibid.*, chap. v, p. 160.
[4] "The Group Mind," 1920, p. 264.

every sort of aggressiveness," says Professor Carveth Read.[1] It is probable though that altruism would be fostered by the sharing system favoured in the primitive hunting pack. Trotter in "The Herd Instinct" shows the probability that the terms "good" and "bad" grew in response to formation of ideas concerning what was operating for the well-being or detriment of the herd. Dr. Westermarck's treatise, "The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas" tends to show that moral qualities of a fundamental kind are ubiquitous, though forms of ethical expression are diverse.

Authors and readers alike are left dissatisfied with the assumption of a "common consciousness," "herd instinct," or "innate moral disposition" to account for the widespread similarity of ethical codes relating to veracity, theft, murder, hospitality, and respect for parents and other elders. Utilitarianism helps to explain why a code should flourish after its adoption, but is unsatisfactory as a postulated cause of the similar ethical systems of tribes of diverse culture and racial extraction. The life of prehistoric man necessarily led to recognition of certain principles or rules of conduct; these may have been welded into a system in the Archaic Civilisation, and sent on their journey as part of a culture complex.

Assumption of a divinely ingrained moral fibre and a conscience helps not at all in the study of the origin and growth of moral feeling, and the hypothesis of utilitarianism and migration would appear to be more consonant with the facts of sociological and psychological study of individuals and groups. There are, of course, many individual differences in juvenile morality. Some children appear to be naturally generous, frank, equable of temper and honest. Others, of equally good parentage and training, show signs of secretiveness and other undesirable

[1] "The Origin of Man and of His Superstitions," p. 61.

qualities. Instruction in social standards of "right" and "wrong" are preludes of feelings of self-esteem, "guilt," and "repentance." In other words, the "conscience" is an artificial product of tribal methods discussed in these pages.

An extremely interesting point in the development of moral ideas is the extension of considerations of sanctity of life and property to members outside one's own group. Anthropological evidence would support the remark of Boas, who states that, "The social group among whose members any altruistic obligations are binding is very small, and outside that group any action that may result in personal gain is not only permitted but even approved." [1] The field worker will find himself surrounded by unfamiliar standards, and Boas rightly states that an investigator should not compare the control of primitive man with the control required by himself on a similar occasion. The social code of the native may not require any exercise of control in the circumstances. Infanticide may result, "not from hardness of heart, but from hardness of life"; and a youth may not be lying when he states that he killed his father before the parent became decrepit, so that a vigorous life in the other world might be continued. On the other hand, an inquirer might attach too great a moral value to some native code or custom; for example, to heavy penalties relating to unchastity of the wife. Chastity may be merely a working condition of fetishism. "If the wife is not chaste the husband cannot shoot straight in the hunting field, or make a fortune on the market, or shake off an attack of influenza, or overcome in conflict with his enemies." [2] The social reformer working abroad may see only gross utilitarianism which may state that, "If a man kill a girl under child-bearing age he must pay

[1] "The Mind of Primitive Man," p. 191.
[2] Claridge's "Wild Bush Tribes of Tropical Africa," p. 205.

200 shillings, but if she were old enough to have had children he must pay 600 shillings." [1] The diviner may be arbitrary and mercenary, "leaving the ring longer in the heating-pot for the man he suspects." [2] The Duk-Duk Society claiming to be a factor of moral restraint may be only an instrument of extortion and tyranny to non-members who cannot afford to join.[3]

Despite such indications of the tentative nature of primitive ethics there is another side of the shield, on which are engraved precepts which can hardly fail to add to public weal. Proverbs may state that: "He who pokes into the business of others is never without dirty feet." "Kindness wins more men than pride." "A good deed never dies." "A little work often keeps one out of a difficulty." "The hasty man catches the snake in the middle." "Injustice soon destroys a country." "A chief must not eat a one-eared pig," *i.e.* he must not hear only one side of a law-suit.[4]

The Timne child brought home from its birthplace in the bush is addressed by words implying parental hope that a moral standard of conduct may be attained. "You come, you find us working, you must work; don't be quarrelsome." "Honour your father, honour your mother, do what they tell you, do not do what you are forbidden, help your father with farm work, try to get money." [5]

The transition from collective to individual responsibility, by no means complete, is a point of great interest to political officers and social reformers abroad. "I have

[1] A. Sutherland, "Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct," vol. i, p. 228.

[2] Thomas's "Anthropological Report on Sierra Leone," p. 83.

[3] Thomas's "Source Book for Social Origins," p. 796.

[4] Claridge's "Wild Bush Tribes of Tropical Africa," pp. 206, 252.

[5] Thomas's "Anthropological Report on Sierra Leone," part i, p. 109. "Law and Customs of the Timne."

frequently known a village constable, or even a regular constable, who should have known better, arrest a father or brother if he has been unable to catch the real culprit." [1] Not only the individual who commits an act, but his kin in proportion to the nearness of their kinship, are responsible for the act. Their responsibility is slightly less than his. This applies, not only to crimes, but also to debts and civil injuries.[2]

The willingness of children to accept a proposition without logical grounds for reception, in other words, their suggestibility, is most pronounced in early adolescence. So much so that Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556) stated that anyone might have the training of the child if the Jesuits might have him for the first seven years. This susceptibility of juveniles to suggestion is a matter of psychological investigation and experimental demonstration no less than of general observation.[3] With this factor and its importance in determining a subconscious activity forming the deep well-spring of conscious life and action we are now concerned in perusing the study of moral training by indirect means.

Evidence of Ethical Standards

The existence of standards of conduct among primitive people is well attested by original observers in many parts of the world.

In Samoa a "good" man generally implied a person who was generous and hospitable, whilst a "bad" man was one who was selfish and greedy about food.[4] Offences against the laws of hospitality were evidently

[1] W. N. Beaver, "Unexplored New Guinea," 1922, p. 293.

[2] "Ifugao Law," University of California Publications in American Archæology and Ethnology, vol. xv, part i, 1919.

[3] A. Binet, "La Suggestibilité," 1900.

[4] Brown's "Melanesians and Polynesians," p. 222.

condemned by public opinion, the standard of which must have been unconsciously absorbed by juveniles. "In their intercourse with each other the breaking of an oath would be condemned as wrong, but I think that the principal reason for the condemnation would be a fear of results which would follow."[1] Laziness, dirtiness of person or home, gossiping, and tale-bearing are universally condemned by public opinion whilst a coward is despised. Homicide is condemned except in case of an aggrieved husband slaying an adulterer, or a relative of some murdered man exacting vengeance.[2] A lazy man may steal from the plantation of his thrifty relative, but a similar act on the part of a stranger from another village is a serious crime.[3]

In the islands of Torres Strait obligations of social life are a basis of morality; individual morality has scarcely emerged, neither is there any sense of personal responsibility to a non-material authority.[4] Among the Koita, a Melanesian people of British New Guinea, there are communal, not individual standards of morality. Homicide and theft are not considered reprehensible in themselves, but they soon become so if directed against a member of the same community, or against a man belonging to a tribe sufficiently strong to take revenge: "Although individual morality scarcely exists, and although there are no initiation ceremonies for members of either sex, and no special instruction in behaviour and etiquette is given, both boys and girls seem invariably to conform to the traditions of the tribe, so there are no spoiled children to be seen. Indeed disrespect to parents or elders is unknown among older children, any of whom will usually promptly obey or courteously fulfil any order or request

[1] Brown's "Melanesians and Polynesians," p. 264.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 265. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 263.
[4] "Report of Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Strait," vol, v, p. 272.

made by a man even if he be in no way related to them." [1] In Samoa a covetous man is condemned by public opinion. He is said to have eyes like a flying fox, always on the look out for something for himself.[2] Junod says of the Ba Thonga: "Though their ideas may differ from ours as regards what is good they are certainly moral beings, feeling strongly the imperative of conscience." [3] Ba Thonga people have an idea of conscience being located in the diaphragm, but no high moral standard is attained, possibly because the religion is essentially non-moral.[4] By unconscious imitation children will naturally acquire the standards of decency prevalent among adults. Ba Thonga men and women do not bathe in the same place; there is no danger or superstition attached to mixed bathing, but the practice is condemned as indecent.[5]

A previous statement relating to the pristine character of North American Indians deserves detailed consideration.

George Catlin, who travelled widely among these people about the year 1832, states that: "The North American Indian in his native state is honest, hospitable, faithful, brave, warlike, cruel, revengeful, relentless, yet honourable. . . . I have roamed about from time to time during seven or eight years visiting and associating with some three or four hundred thousand of these people under an almost infinite variety of circumstances. From the very many and decided voluntary acts of their hospitality and kindness I feel bound to pronounce them by nature a kind and hospitable people. I have been welcomed generally in their country and treated to the best they could give me without any charges being made for my board. They have often escorted me through their enemies' country, at some hazard to their own lives, and

[1] Seligman's "Melanesians of British New Guinea," p. 131.
[2] Brown's "Melanesians and Polynesians," p. 262.
[3] "The Life of a South African Tribe," vol. ii, p. 530–1.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 530.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 530.

they have aided me in passing mountains and rivers with my awkward baggage, and under all of the circumstances of exposure no Indian ever betrayed me, struck me a blow or stole from me a shilling's worth of my property, that I am aware of. This is all the more remarkable when one considers that there is no law in their land to punish a man for theft; that locks and keys are not known in their country, that the commandments have never been divulged among them, nor can any human retribution fall on the head of a thief save the disgrace which attaches as a stigma to his character.

"Thus in these little communities I have often beheld peace, happiness and quiet reigning supreme. . . . I have seen rights and virtue protected and wrongs redressed, and I have seen conjugal, filial, and paternal affection in the simplicity and contentment of their nature. I have unavoidably formed warm and enduring attachments to some of these men whom I do not wish to forget. In our final separation they have embraced me in their arms and commended me and my affairs to the keeping of the Great Spirit."[1] Indulgence to children and hospitality to travellers are suggestive of an original pacificism among primitive races. War and cruelty are possibly intrusive factors from a migrating civilisation.

The Eskimo have unwritten laws inculcating unselfishness. "When a seal is brought to the huts everybody is entitled to a share of meat and blubber, which is distributed by the hunter himself or carried to the huts by his wife. This custom is practised only when food is scarce."[2] Such an habitual act of unselfishness, practised at a time when self-restraint is most difficult, sets a standard which juveniles attain, not by direct instruction, but as a result of unconsciously imitating their elders.

[1] "North American Indians, vol. i, pp. 8–10.

[2] Boas's "The Central Eskimo," Reports of American Bureau of Ethnology, 1888, p. 582.

Custom supplies the restraint which is not imposed by law, and children are governed by precedent rather than by formal teaching, for example, in the generally recognised maxim that lost objects must be restored to their owner.[1]

Tribal precedent regulates the treatment of wives. "The husband is not allowed to maltreat or punish his wife, if he does she may leave him at any time and the wife's mother can always command a divorce." [2] Again in the rule respecting care of women and children we see the habitual maintenance of an unusually high standard of conduct which is not transmitted by formal teaching. "If for any reason a man is unable to provide for his family, or if a woman cannot do her household work, the children are adopted by a relative or friend, who considers them as his own children. In the same way widows are adopted by their nearest relative or friend." [3]

With regard to the Shans of Upper Burma it has been said: "They are naturally generous and kind-hearted and always very hospitable. They certainly possess consciences and are much disturbed in mind if they think they have done wrong." [4] Among the Ekoi of West Africa there is a love of approbation which acts unobtrusively in setting moral standards that boys and girls readily adopt from their elders: "Social qualities are very highly developed in an Ekoi village, where there is nothing more prized than popularity or more dreaded than ridicule." [5] A marked characteristic of the Masai is a keen perception of justice. They are intelligent and truthful, and adult Masai will never thieve or lie.[6] The Tungus are exceedingly honest where strayed reindeer are concerned, and the animals are always returned to their owners even if a

[1] Boas's "The Central Eskimo," Reports of American Bureau of Ethnology, p. 582.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 580. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 580.
[4] Milne's "The Shans at Home," p. 117.
[5] Talbot's "In the Shadow of the Bush," p. 283.
[6] Hinde and Hinde's "The Last of the Masai," p. 34.

long and troublesome journey is involved. No excuse is accepted for failure to do this, for everyone is familiar with the marks of different herds.[1]

Treatment of Aged and Infirm

A point of interest in estimating the value of indirect moral training, for which there is no support in clearly defined law, has reference to treatment of the aged and infirm. Mariner says that, "In Tonga old persons of both sexes are highly reverenced on account of age and experience, insomuch that it constitutes a branch of their first moral and religious duty to reverence gods, chiefs, and aged persons. Consequently there is hardly any instance in these islands of old age being wantonly insulted."[2]

A few examples illustrate compassionate treatment of old people. Old men of the Shan tribes spend a great deal of their time in Buddhist temples whither they are led by young boys who appear proud of their mission. "Shan children are very patient with the old, and they are also particularly tender toward those who are helpless or in any way afflicted. Children are taught that the spirits of people who are mad or wanting may be with other blessed spirits on the sacred mountain. They are always kind to idiots and imbeciles, for they say the poor deserted body should be cared for and treated with reverence. Children have no fear of such people. If the Shans are having a meal and an idiot comes to the door children at once run and offer food. I recollect a poor madman, in a Shan village, who would wear no clothes except a long piece of cloth trailing on the ground. He lived in a corner of an empty rest house built in the village for free use of pilgrims and travellers. Every day the children brought wood for the fire, also rice and fruit.

[1] Czaplicka's "My Siberian Year," p. 160.
[2] Mariner's "Tonga," vol. ii, p. 97.

"When a good old man or woman dies the relatives are sorry, but they are also glad. They are sorry to lose an old friend, but say, 'He did many good deeds in his life; he was upright and honourable; he will certainly be happy in his next life. Now he is with the good spirits on the spirit mountain; or he will soon be reborn as a happy human baby.'" [1]

Of the Kurnai of South-east Australia Dr. Howitt says: "In the Kurnai tribe age was held in reverence and a man's authority increased with years. . . . The authority of age was also attached to certain women who had gained the confidence of their tribespeople." [2] Certain of the elderly people do receive respect from the young throughout primitive society, and we invariably found initiation and training of novices in the hands of old men or old women who are repositories of tribal law.

The main point for elucidation concerns the treatment which primitive man accords to his old people when they can no longer be of service to the community. In the main we find from the following examples that respect for the aged is, as a rule, confined to a period when weight of years gives a discretion and status which are of direct use to society. When health fails and infirmity sets in the aged are disposed of, because their existence is a menace to the free movement, defensive tactics, and hunting propensities of the group. Instances adduced to show the somewhat harsh treatment of infirm people reveal possibilities of an unconscious training of children, who naturally become callous, or at any rate strictly utilitarian in their regard for the value of life.

Among the North-west Amazons there is a great neglect of the sick and infirm because the survival of unfit people is not desired.[3] The now extinct Tasmanians were quite

[1] Milne's "The Shans at Home," pp. 87, 88.
[2] Howitt's "Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," p. 316.
[3] Whiffen's "The North-west Amazons," p. 171.

callous toward their aged who, if sick, were left to die in a hollow tree or under rock shelters.[1] The Baganda neglect their aged and when questioned respecting the abandonment of an old man they urged that he was an infirm stranger who could do nothing either for good or ill.[2] This statement is probably expressive of the general attitude of primitive races toward people who are no longer of service to the tribe. From their earliest days tribesmen are taught to subjugate individual to collective interests and without doubt the abandonment does not appear so tragic to the sufferer as to civilised and critical observers. Codrington, when speaking of Melanesians, refers to the custom of burying the aged alive,[3] possibly a more humane method than that of abandoning to a death from exposure.

The following instances concerning treatment of the sick in North American and Eskimo tribes illustrate the above assertion that the infirm themselves probably do not feel their position very acutely.

Catlin describes Indians leaving the village of Puncahs in search of buffaloes further west. The tribe was going across country which was barren and inhospitable and the pitiable object, once a chief and man of distinction in his tribe, now too old to travel, was to be left to starve or fall a prey to wolves. There he sat with naked and trembling limbs close to a small fire which he might replenish from a bundle of sticks close at hand. He was slightly protected by an overhead covering of buffalo skin, and near by were a bowl of water and a small quantity of food. His friends and children had all left him and were preparing to be on the march in a little time. Realising that he was too old and feeble to accompany his unit, the old man said: "My children, our nation is poor and it is necessary you should

[1] Ling Roth's "The Aborigines of Tasmania," p. 61.
[2] Roscoe's "The Baganda," p. 248.
[3] "The Melanesians," p. 347.

all go to the country where you can get meat. My eyes are dimmed and my strength is no more. My days are nearly all numbered and I am a burden to my children. I cannot go and I wish to die. Keep your hearts stout and think not of me, I am no longer good for anything."

This cruel custom of exposing the aged was universal among Indian tribes who roamed the prairies. Decrepit persons who were incapable of marching or riding insisted on being left behind, saying that they were old and of no further use. Continuing these remarks, the old people would say that they abandoned their parents in like manner; they wished to die, and their children must not mourn for them.[1]

Old people of the Central Eskimo tribes exhibited a similar disregard for themselves, realising, as all primitive races do, that communal interests have a prior claim.

An aged woman, whose health had been failing for many years, lived with her son. The son's wife died, and according to Eskimo custom the son himself was obliged to throw away his clothing. The mother felt as if she could not live through the winter, and realising that, in case of her death in the house, the son would have to throw away another outfit of clothes, she insisted upon being killed. At last the son complied with her request and the old woman was conveyed to an island where she was left alone to die from cold and hunger.[2]

" If it is found that disease will prove fatal a small snow house or hut is built, according to season, into which the patient is carried through an opening at the back. This opening is then closed and a door is cut. A small quantity of food is placed in the hut, but the patient is left without attendants. As long as there is no fear of sudden death

[1] Catlin's " North American Indians," vol. i, p. 216.

[2] Boas's " The Central Eskimo," Reports of American Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, 1888, p. 669.

relatives and friends may visit the sick, but when death is impending the house is shut up and he is left alone to die." [1]

One might argue that these customs of disposing of the aged set a low moral standard for the guidance of children. Certainly such a custom affords no scope for the exercise of self-denial and sympathy, yet there are extenuating circumstances.

Primitive man has a fear of the contamination of death and the possibility of the dwelling or camp becoming haunted by disembodied spirits. On the more material side, one must recognise that tribes living on the margin of subsistence, or dependent for a living and defence on their mobility, consider first the preservation of the unit. The education of boys and girls of primitive races emphasises the superiority of collective control and tribal supremacy. Hence the abandonment of aged and infirm people is but the logical outcome of a system, and not in any sense an indication of an innate brutality exercised in a special direction.

Again we have to admit that the material loss due to a death within the domestic dwelling is considerable, for in the case of the Central Eskimo such a death entails destruction of the residence, and among other people removal to another camping ground is usual.

The natural and educated stoicism of primitive people is a factor with which to reckon. Boas says: "The sick await their death with admirable coolness (as they are left in a snow hut without food, this is not surprising), without the least sign of fear or unwillingness to die. . . . I remember a young girl who sent for me a few hours before her death and asked me to give her some tobacco and bread, which she wanted to take to her mother, who had died a few weeks before." [2] The standard of morality

[1] Boas's "The Central Eskimo," Reports of American Bureau of Ethnology, 1888, p. 612.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 612–13.

involved in treatment of the sick and aged, like other points in the systems of primitive races, has to be considered, not merely from the investigator's point of view, but from the standpoint of primitive man himself. Any one feature of the social life or conduct should be estimated in terms of the general thought and feeling, also with regard to the requirements and limitations of the particular social group.

The opening pages of this chapter, concerning the education of children by indirect methods, have been devoted to a collation of instances illustrating the way in which prevalent standards of conduct will be acquired by unconscious imitation of elders. When hospitality is the rule in a tribe the children see the fellow-tribesman or even a stranger well fed and accommodated. Honesty, chastity, respect for tribal elders, unselfishness, cleanliness, and courage may be imparted by imitation long before they become points of instruction at initiation ceremonies. Practices and standards of morality vary with racial qualities, social organisation, contact with Europeans, and mode of maintaining an existence. But for every tribe there are maxims of conduct, ideas of right and wrong, and codes of morality, which in some cases, without deriving support from definite laws, determine duty towards relatives and neighbours.

Folk Lore as a Factor in Moral Training

The natural imitative tendencies of childhood assist the primitive child to conform to the standards of conduct prevalent in his social group. Over the whole world the value of stories with a direct teaching has been established. Primitive man knows, subconsciously perhaps, that actions result from ideas, and in a great variety of stories and legends he has sought to elevate the moral tone of his children. The local setting of the tales varies, so also

does their forcefulness, while from the standpoint of the European educationist they present moral values of disparate standards. On the whole, the indigenous stories of primitive races appraise virtues, and condemn faults in a manner closely resembling that of European narratives. An examination of some of these didactic legends will give an idea of the way in which primitive man censors conduct and strives to present to children a pleasant means of apprehending ethical standards. A story told by the Central Eskimo illustrates the importance attached to kind treatment of orphan children, and the retribution which may follow upon those who act the part of a bully.

A youth whose name we may abbreviate to "Kaud" lived on the shores of Davis Strait. On account of his loneliness this boy was persecuted by the men, ill fed, overworked, and obliged to sleep with dogs in the passage which approaches a snow dwelling.

The man in the moon took pity on this weak juvenile, came to earth and made the boy strong by a special course of physical training.

Kaud was subsequently attacked by three polar bears, two of which he slew, while the third he carried to a village whose inhabitants had persecuted him. On release the bear put to flight and inflicted injury on those who had maltreated the orphan boy. A picturesque touch is given to the narrative by the statement that Kaud grew into a great and powerful hunter, living to marry an Eskimo girl who had befriended him in his days of weakness and poverty.[1]

A similar story tells of Kiviung, an orphan who was left in charge of his grandmother. The boy was persecuted on account of the shabby clothing he wore, and many times he took refuge in flight from the persecution of children and adults.

[1] Boas's "The Central Eskimo," p. 628.

The grandmother, a clever witch, transformed her grandson into a seal, and in this capacity he enticed his persecutors out to sea in frail boats. The kayaks were overturned and their occupants drowned, while the seal returned safely to shore, there to be rehumanised into the body of the boy Kiviung.[1]

In these stories we see a definite attempt to uphold the well-established Eskimo custom of providing for orphans or destitute children. With regard to this particular point, juveniles are educated in two ways, namely, by the example of their elders and the grafting of ideas by means of attractive narratives.

A somewhat severe punishment for inquisitiveness is shown in a story told by the Rev. J. Weeks. A man who owned a rich plantation of bananas married a fairy woman from the clouds. The pair were happy, except for the man's suspicion of the woman. Motus's wife had a covered basket into which she asked her husband not to look. Overcome by curiosity, he lifted the lid to see what his wife was concealing. The basket was empty, but the woman was so annoyed at the suspicion and inquisitive spirit of her husband that she ascended to the clouds.[2]

All Ainu children are instructed by means of tales. The following story is intended to encourage diligence and check idleness.

In olden times there was a boy who was both idle and disobedient. The gods, who were angry, put him in the side of the moon as a warning to all children that the words of parents must be obeyed.

Though the boy was ordered to draw water he refused and sat chopping at the fireplace with an edged tool. As he went out he struck the door post saying: "Ah me, you, being a door post, do not have to draw water." Then,

[1] Boas's "The Central Eskimo," p. 621.
[2] "Among Congo Cannibals," p. 205.

taking the ladle and bucket, he went down to the river and addressed the fish saying: "You bony creatures are only fish; you do not have to draw water." Again, seeing a salmon trout, he said: "Ah me, you soft, flabby creature, you do not have to draw water." Straightway the boy was seized by the salmon, who carried him to the moon, where he has remained for the warning of all people.[2]

Another Ainu story is told with a view to illustrate the results of vanity, greed, and dishonesty. A fox, who was very proud of his long, bushy tail, stretched it over people's gardens. Garments were hung on the tail, whereupon the fox withdrew his tail and stole the property. He tried the same dishonest practice again, but the people who had been robbed were too quick for him and his tail was cut off as soon as it appeared.[1]

Reverence for the aged is impressed by a story concerning two old people who were laughed at because they offered to cut down a sturdy tree which had defied the strongest warriors. When the ancients saw the old axe carried by the man, also the reaping hook carried by the woman, they said: "Old man and old woman, what have you come hither to do." The reply of the old people called forth mockery from strong men who had broken their best swords in trying to cut down the tree. Later it was understood that the old people were Okikurumi and his wife, two deities who had brought their flaming swords with which they felled the tree. Therefore the Ainu say:—

"Let not the younger laugh at the elder, for even very old people can teach their juniors a great deal, even in so simple a matter as felling trees." Also they said: "Do not treat strangers slightingly, for you never know whom you are entertaining."[2]

An old man and wife of the Masai tribe wished to kill

[1] Batchelor's "The Ainus of Japan," p. 109. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 114.

and cut up an ox without their neighbours knowing or receiving any meat. So they built a separate kraal and killed the ox there. Their child died and the wife injured herself when cutting up the meat. This story is told to illustrate the result of greediness, for while the man and his wife were lamenting, vultures came and carried off the carcase, which the owners had been so careful to keep from the sight of their neighbours.[1]

A Nigerian story concerning the greedy woman and the good bird tells of a mother who promised the life of her daughter as the price for a valuable bull. When the day arrived for the sacrifice of the girl her mother was repentant. A magical bird turned the girl into a red bird and itself played the part of the maiden, who was able to fly away when the time of sacrifice arrived. This magical bird eventually restored the daughter to her mother, saying: "You must fight against greed; it is a thing to be avoided, and if you are patient it will disappear." [2]

The evil result of jealousy is illustrated by a Masai tale of two wives, one of whom was barren, while the other gave birth to twins. The jealous, childless woman stole the twins, placed them in a drum, and floated them away on the river.

A far-away tribe saved and adopted the boys, who grew up to be famous warriors who learned the story of their youthful adventures. Eventually, after many wanderings, these young warriors found the woman who had sent them adrift and she was made to herd donkeys for the rest of her life.[3]

A similar story with a moral concerns a woman who, jealous of the interests of her own son, tried to kill a small boy whom she had adopted. In order to rid her boy of a

[1] Hollis's "The Masai," p. 159.
[2] Tremearne's "The Tailed Head Hunters of Nigeria," p. 334.
[3] Hollis's "The Masai," p. 178.

rival, the woman caused the orphan boy to fall into a hole, which she covered with a stone. Cries for help were heard; the imprisoned youth was liberated and the guilty woman was killed.[1]

The Masai appear to be particularly critical of jealousy, for another of their favourite stories concerns the jealousy of two brothers who were in the habit of hunting buffaloes together. The elder brother purposely caused the younger to lose an eye by allowing a branch to swing in his face. Knowing that the elder brother intended to take his life, he dressed a log and placed it in his sleeping corner, then, from a point of vantage, he waited. Presently the elder brother crept toward the younger's sleeping place, and launched a spear, which entered the log. The young brother then knew that murder had been planned, so he fell upon his elder brother and slew him.[2]

With regard to the ill-effects of disobedience to parents, the Ba Thonga tell a story of a man who had three children who were ready to set off for a walk in the forest. Their mother said: "If you see any of that large fruit the sola, you must not eat it, and if you come across any tracks of snakes you must not follow them." One disobedient boy followed a snake which he killed and ate, whereupon he was seized with violent pains and would have lost his life but for the timely aid of the medicine man.[3]

Indian children of the Haida and Tlingit tribes are frightened, when disobedient, by a story concerning a child who would not cease crying when told to do so by its parents. This infant was led by a supernatural being into the depths of the earth, from which he returned only to die of fright and exhaustion.[4]

The necessity for bravery and the punishment due to

[1] Hollis's "The Masai," p. 111. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 111.
[3] Junod's "The Life of a South African Tribe," vol. ii, p. 229.
[4] J. R. Swanton, *The American Anthropologist*, 1905, vol. vii, p. 99. Article entitled "Types of Haida and Tlingit Myths."

cowards are the prominent points of a Masai story the teaching of which is very appropriate for a warlike race. A raiding party of the Masai were warned by the medicine man that their efforts would be unsuccessful if any one of the party killed a monkey. One of the warriors, a coward at heart, fell behind the main body on the pretence of tying up his sandal, but during this time he killed a monkey, then rejoined his companions. Outside the village which was to be attacked an old man sat trapping rock rabbits. Clubs were thrown at him without avail; he merely winced as if an insect had bitten him, then, unharmed, he rose and put the warriors to flight. The man who had stayed behind to kill a monkey, so bringing misfortune on the raiders, had been seen and for this cowardly act he was put to death.[1]

Infidelity of a wife is universally reproved among primitive people, and stories relating to illicit love generally contain a reference to the death of the offenders.

An unfaithful wife who wished to marry another man pretended to die and was placed in a grave box, from which her lover liberated her and took her to another part of the country. The husband, who suspected this treachery, quickly went in pursuit, and arriving at the house where the eloped couple were staying he killed both of them. The story concludes by stating that next morning the avenged husband dressed well and went out to gamble. A somewhat naïve way of stating that whereas evil doers were punished, the person who had been wronged emerged happily from the adventure.[2]

The reward of perseverance is emphasised by a story concerning a fisherman who persisted in his work after years of disappointing catches. A miraculous draught of fishes brought wealth and success to this toiler.[3]

[1] Hollis's "The Masai," p. 132.

[2] Swanton's *The American Anthropologist*, vol. vii, p. 99. Article entitled "Types of Haida and Tlingit Myths."

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

These few stories selected from an enormous repertoire evidently have a stimulating and admonishing effect on adults and children. The former tell the tales time after time, so that children, ubiquitous in primitive tribes, as in civilised communities, have an excellent opportunity of imbibing the moral. We have seen that the narratives refer to inquisitiveness, rudeness, idleness, vanity, greed, treatment of the aged, jealousy, disobedience, cowardice, selfishness, infidelity, and perseverance. The good is praised and rewarded, the bad action promptly and severely punished, so that these instructive tales attempt to show a logical connection between morality and happiness; they also reveal misfortune and death as a natural consequence of neglecting standards of conduct.

Children Gain Knowledge of Law by Instruction and Observation

The natural sequel to a study of the influence of stories giving informal ethical instruction is found in a consideration of primitive law and punishments which *enforce* rather than *induce* the adoption of standards of conduct.

Tribal laws are taught at initiation ceremonies, but in all probability the child is trained to a great extent by his own observations and knowledge of punishments inflicted on offenders against the code of morality which forms a tribal standard.

At an early age children understand why a man is suffering trial by ordeal, also the reason for mutilation of a tribesman, or the causes which have led to payment of a fine of cattle. The emotion of fear naturally exercises a restraining influence, for not only is the child led to see the way in which breach of law leads to individual physical suffering, he is in addition to this taught to fear consequences of a non-material origin. Non-human powers are said to be set in motion against an offender, whose

blindness, grey hair, or sickness is directly attributable to an unknown agency.

For the moment we are concerned only with the authority of tribal elders and the way in which this is exercised in giving exemplary punishments that must influence the ideas and conduct of juveniles.

Dr. A. W. Howitt says that a more intimate acquaintance with Australian tribes shows the presence of authority and restraint behind the seeming freedom. It is found that there are well-defined customs and tribal laws which are binding on the individual, and these laws exercise a controlling and regulating influence over his actions toward other people.[1] In addition to respect for the tribal council, there is the formative effect of reverence for elders as individuals of importance.

" In the Kurnai tribe age was held in reverence and a man's authority increased with years. If he, even without being aged, had intelligence, cunning, and courage beyond his fellows, he might become a man of note, weighty in council and a leader in war." [2] Old women and old men were depositories of tribal legend and custom. They helped to keep alive stringent marriage rules, and in this and other ways influenced public opinion.[3]

The tribal council among the Kurnai discusses the course of action with regard to murders, abduction of women, adultery, and intertribal feuds.[4] The Dieri tribe have a hereditary head man who acts as dictator of an executive body which prescribes and carries out punishments.[5]

In speaking generally of the North American Indians G. Catlin says: " These people have no written laws, nor others save the penalties affixed to certain crimes by long-standing custom, or by the decision of the chiefs in council

[1] " Native tribes of S.E. Australia," p. 295. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 295.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 316. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 303. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 297.

who form a court for the investigation of crimes and transaction of public business. For the session of these dignitaries every tribe has in the middle of the village a government or council house where chiefs try transgressors and sometimes convict them for capital offences. The judges leave the punishment to be inflicted by the next of kin, to whom the eyes of the nation are turned." Custom allows the aggrieved to adopt any means of revenge. He is allowed to waylay and shoot down the criminal, and punishments decreed by the council are certain and cruel.[1]

The retributive action of a communal council is illustrated from a case which occurred among the Central Eskimo. "Old Wicked," a passionate man who continually threatened to do some harm to those who were peaceably inclined, at last became so unbearable that at a public meeting it was decided that he should be shot. The sentence was carried out one afternoon when he was busy repairing the ravages which a storm had made in his snow hut. The executioner shot "Old Wicked" in the back, then agreed to support the wife and children of the dead man, so that they would not be a burden on the community.[2] The court, the tribal council house, and the aggrieved going forth to carry the sentence into execution, all act as object lessons to the young, who at an early age have sufficient intelligence to comprehend the import of tribal commotion.

Members of the avenging party in the Kurnai, or other Australian tribes, are distinguished by a white band round the head, by human hair attached so as to elongate the beard, also by diagonal stripes of red and white across the stomach. These representatives of the law visit a neighbouring tribe and demand the surrender of a man whom they suppose to have killed one of their own tribesmen by magic. In cases of the abduction of women, adultery or

[1] "The North American Indians," vol. ii, p. 239–40.

[2] Boas's "The Central Eskimo," "Reports of American Bureau of Ethnology," 1888, p. 667.

Punishment of a Chinese Malefactor.

Chinese Prisoner wearing the Cangue.

murder, and when the offender has escaped to his own local division, or to a neighbouring tribe, those who shelter the culprits are demanded by a messenger to give them up. If they refuse to do so, there is a free fight.[1]

Factor of Shame in Moral Development

Such instances of a painstaking effort to punish the guilty bring home to young people a sense of individual responsibility, which is further fostered by methods of trial by combat or ordeal. As a supplement to these vigorous object lessons, which are all of the nature of external control, there is a recognition of the internal control of conduct.

The Nandi have a proverb to the effect that shame is not one-edged like a knife, it cuts in every direction and goes deep into the heart.[2] Tasmanian aborigines, now extinct, but usually regarded as people of the most elementary culture known in historic times, attached importance to shame as a factor in controlling conduct. An offender was placed on a low branch of a tree while a crowd stood below shouting and mocking him.[3] A man of the North-west Amazon tribes who ill-treated his wife would be scorned by the tribe, for other women would make an action song in which they would publicly expose the wife-beater to ridicule.[4]

Satirical songs may be a powerful factor in influencing conduct. The greedy man, the thief, coward, the worker of black magic, and the incestuous are made the subjects of songs sung at village dances. Such chants are a great factor in influencing natives, by inciting them to reckless bravery or deterring them from committing crimes:—

[1] Howitt's "Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," pp. 326, 332.
[2] Hollis's "The Nandi," p. 129.
[3] R. H. Davies, *Tasmanian Journal of Science*, Launceston and London, 1846, vol. ii, p. 419.
[4] Whiffen's "The North-west Amazons," p. 69.

"Village songs inspire brave deeds, brand and shame cowards, or restrain rascals. Natives hate to be held up to ridicule in a village song."[1]

The Object Lesson of Punishment

From a consideration of these general factors of *external* and *internal* control of conduct, we can pass to a more detailed consideration of punishments which, in addition to expressing the general feeling of the community, act as very forceful object lessons, guiding the ideas and conduct of young people not yet admitted to tribal life.

With regard to the relationship of the sexes before and after marriage, primitive man has well-defined opinions. Local differences are considerable, but from a number of instances one can glean an accurate general impression of primitive man's judgment concerning adultery, elopement, incest, and sexual morality generally.

Punishment for elopement with a woman takes the nature of trial by ordeal among an Australian tribe, the Wudthaurung. Howitt says:—"The accused advanced and challenged his accusers to fight, whereupon a boomerang was hurled at him." A spear followed but this was adroitly turned with a shield. One of the accusers attacked the culprit with his club and the fight commenced in earnest. Presently the accused was beaten to the ground by a severe blow, which the accuser was about to repeat when checked by general intervention of the relatives of the defeated man.[2]

The Veddas are strictly monogamous, and a wife's constancy to her husband is a remarkably strong trait. Infidelity of husbands or wives is almost unknown. On the contrary, Veddas who have come into contact with the Sinhalese have no violent feeling against pre-nuptial con-

[1] Weeks's "Among Congo Cannibals," p. 120.
[2] Howitt's "Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," p. 340.

A Fetish Hut, Island of Buvuma, Lake Victoria Nyanza.

"Offerings of food and drink are placed there for ancestral spirits which are worshipped. These huts are placed outside villages, where they serve as an object lesson to children.

(Sir J. Bland-Sutton : "Man and Beast in Eastern Ethiopia.")

A Notorious Criminal of East Africa.

(From Weules' "Native Life in East Africa." Brockhaus, Leipzig.)

nection between betrothed people. In former days, such deeds were punishable by death, and Seligmans cite an instance of the death penalty being inflicted on two offenders.[1] Generally speaking, Tungus connive at illicit love affairs, but there is a stringent code of laws for dealing with assault on married or single women.[1] Offenders are sentenced by tribal council.[2] Among Naga tribes of Assam there is a notable laxity in sexual morality before marriage, but the most rigid system of propriety and periodical continence is enforced after marriage.[3]

Crude punishments are applied to adulterers in primitive Australian society. In the Kamilaroi tribe, the offending woman is handed over to all visitors for a night.[4] Adulterers who elope are followed and killed.[5] In the Wotyobaluk tribe, "If a married woman misconducted herself she was most commonly killed together with the co-respondent, if he could be found."[6] The Yerkla Mining graduate the punishments for a woman adulterer, but unfairly allow the man to escape. "A wife is bound to be faithful to her husband. For the first offence she is branded with the firestick. For a second offence she is speared in the leg, while for a third lapse the death penalty is given."[7]

The Semang of the Malay Peninsula hold a marriage ceremony as binding for both wife and husband, who as a rule are very faithful to one another. Adultery is punishable by death.[8] For abduction of a married woman a fine is levied, and if this is not paid the culprit is flogged and tied to a tree for a long period until the debt is discharged.[9]

Among the Baganda punishments for adultery, which

[1] Seligman and Seligman's "The Veddas of Ceylon," pp. 86, 87, 100.
[2] Czaplicka's "My Siberian Year," p. 107.
[3] Hodson's "The Naga Tribes of Manipur," pp. 78, 87, 94.
[4] Howitt's "Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," p. 207.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 233. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 245. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 258.
[8] W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, "Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula," London, 1906, vol. i, pp. 55, 64.
[9] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 495.

is thought to be a cause of the mother's death at child-birth, are very severe.[1] Although the Masai sanction a system of concubinage for warriors who are not allowed to marry, it is considered wrong for unmarried people to have children; a child not born in wedlock is disrespectfully called "The child of seduction," or "The child of the fireplace." A warrior who causes a woman to conceive marries her.[2]

A man who commits adultery with a woman of his father's age is cursed, gives two bulls to the elders of the tribe, and implores them to remove the curse. Adultery or fornication between people of the same age is ignored. An old man who has irregular sexual relationships with a young girl is severely treated. Other men pull down his kraal and slaughter his cattle.[3] Adultery within the Ba Thonga tribe is said to have taken place when a man commits sin with a married woman. Relationships with a young girl count for nothing. When a man has abducted a married woman and has been discovered, he is condemned by the chief to pay a fine equivalent to £15 or £20 of English money. Adultery is strongly prohibited and severely punished, not on moral grounds, but it is regarded as theft. In the Ba Thonga tribe, the punishment always falls on the offending man.[4]

Divorce among the North-west Amazonian tribes may be given on account of various causes including infidelity, bad temper, disease, laziness, disobedience, or childlessness on the part of the wife. Tribal opinion is the chief factor in deciding whether the people should be parted. If a man deserts his wife without adequate cause he is open to severe tribal censure and is held up to ridicule, which really means ostracism. Punishment for adulterers of either

[1] Roscoe's "The Baganda," p. 262.
[2] Hollis's "The Masai," p. 310.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 50.
[4] Junod's "The Life of a South African Tribe," vol. i, p. 192.

West African Charm against Thieves.
(*Photo : N. W. Thomas.*)

West African Charm against Thieves.
(*Photo : N. W. Thomas.*)

sex consists of covering them with formidable black ants. Prostitution exists, is tolerated, but not publicly condoned.[1]

These illustrations of primitive man's estimates of the value of chastity are extremely varied, and it is not possible to establish uniform rules or laws which control the sexual relationships of primitive people in general. Punishments vary in severity both for male and female offenders, but one point is quite clear, namely, the absence of promiscuity. There *are* moral standards, and these tend to impose themselves on a rising generation by force of example and object lessons, quite apart from any direct formal instruction which may be given at puberty.

Treatment of Theft

Theft is dealt with in a great variety of ways, usually by corporal punishment or fine, a basic principle being that the offender must reimburse the man whom he has robbed. The crime of theft is recognised as a blow to the individual rather than the State, restoration is the main point, while there is also the infliction of shame and loss of social status.

Treatment of theft among the North-west Amazonian tribes is very severe. The loser pursues the delinquent, and in accordance with tribal judgment is justified in knocking the man down and hacking off his head.[2]

Samoyedes and Tungus have a tribal council which may take an extremely serious view of theft. For example, the theft of a store of food or firewood is regarded as murder, for the loser is exposed to death by cold or starvation. Thieves are exposed in public, bound by having their arms lashed behind their backs. This form of punishment is regarded as a great disgrace.[3]

[1] Whiffen's "The North-west Amazons," pp. 69, 159, 165, 167.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 171.
[3] Czaplicka's "My Siberian Year," pp. 158, 170.

A strange combination of moral standards is found among the Todas of Southern India. Polyandry prevails, adultery is not regarded as an offence, but Dr. Rivers says of the people's honesty, "I heard of no offence against property except in connection with the dairy. So far as I know, ornaments and clothing are never stolen."[1] Among Tangkhuls of the North-west Indian Provinces, in olden days theft was punishable by death, but nowadays a fine is inflicted. Thieves may be beaten or exposed in public in order to shame them. Primitive tribal law appears to be capable of evolution in the direction of a more humanitarian treatment, for in addition to commuting the punishment for theft, the death penalty is not necessarily inflicted for adultery, which may be expiated by a fine.[2] A young Australian aboriginal caught in the act of stealing stone from a quarry belonging to another tribe was marched by escort to his own tribal encampment. When old and young men of both tribes were assembled the question: "Did some of you send this young man to take tomahawk stone?" was asked. The reply, "We sent no one to take stone," was accepted, and after the young thief had been publicly reprimanded friendly relationships between the two tribes were re-established.[3] In the Semang tribe a man would be fined for cheating a fellow tribesman when making a bargain. If he could not pay, a severe scolding would be given by members of the tribe. Theft is rare among the Sakai and the punishment of ostracism from the tribe is keenly felt by culprits.[4] A Masai thief is punished by a heavy fine of cattle or weapons, which have to be paid over to the man from whom the goods have been stolen. Sometimes a thief is severely beaten; this is usually done

[1] "The Todas," pp. 529, 555.
[2] Hodson's "The Naga Tribes of Manipur," pp. 106, 108.
[3] Howitt's "Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," p. 341.
[4] Skeat and Blagden's "Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula," vol. i, pp. 495, 501.

Husband and Wife (Ainus of Japan)
With tips of noses cut off as a punishment for theft
(Batchelor . " Ainu and their Folklore " Religious Tract Society.)

when he has been previously convicted. A third offence is punished by burning the hands of the culprit with a hot stick.[1] The Ba Thonga condemn theft, not because it is immoral, but because stealing renders normal social life impossible. A thief caught stealing mealies has to hand over his own field to the man whom he attempted to rob, and in addition to this heavy punishment the thief has to pay a fine of an ox.[2] Baganda law respecting theft recognises a distinction between offences of men and women. If a woman was caught stealing food from another woman's garden she was fined. If a man was caught stealing food he was killed on the spot. House-breakers were killed immediately if caught and the relatives would disown the offender so completely that they refused to bury the body.[3] In Melanesian New Guinea, a thief caught in the act is severely handled or thrashed by the injured individual and his friends. The aggrieved people may consult a sorcerer, and children naturally grow up with a fear of detection through a magical agency.[4] The Ainu of Japan consider a thrashing sufficient punishment for a first attempt at stealing, and for a second offence the culprit's nose is cut off.[5]

With these punishments, carried out in public, and calculated to leave their evidence on the person of the offender, children must become fully acquainted. There is an element of prosaic justice in the paying back of articles which the thief has attempted to take, and such object lessons probably have a stronger and more durable effect than much formal teaching.

[1] Hollis's "The Masai," p. 310.
[2] Junod's "The Life of a South African Tribe," vol. i, p. 491.
[3] Roscoe's "The Baganda," p. 264.
[4] Seligman's "Melanesians of British New Guinea," p. 133.
[5] Batchelor's "The Ainu of Japan," p. 188.

Homicide

The subjects of murder, manslaughter, blood revenge, and capital punishment are of exceptional interest when one is considering the practical side of primitive law and its administration. The general trend of evidence respecting homicide leaves the reader with the impression that primitive man has no special regard for the value of human life; but he certainly has a keen desire to avoid the complications and social eruptions which result from murder and blood feuds. When a member of a very powerful and hostile neighbouring tribe is murdered, the tribesmen of the culprit are quite willing to give up the murderer in order to avoid a raid from the enemy's camp. In the Koryak tribe the duty of killing a murderer devolved upon the male relatives of the murdered man. The whole clan to which a murderer belonged was held responsible for the crime, for which compensation had to be made either in payment or blood revenge. An Altaian who killed a fellow clansman was tied to a tree in the depths of the forest and left to perish.[1] Among the Chukchee, the murdered man had to be replaced by a slave, who was obliged to obey his new masters or suffer the death penalty. The murderer himself was compelled to sustain the wife and family of the murdered individual.[2]

Indians of Guiana have a great fear of supernatural punishment for murder. It is thought that a "kenaima" or spirit can bring punishment in the form of sickness and death. This hostile avenging spirit is credited with the power of entering the body of a jaguar, serpent, bird, or insect, in which form he will follow the culprit for months until the murderer is poisoned, has his limbs dislocated, or is killed outright.[3]

[1] Jochelson's "The Koryak," pp. 33–4, 57.
[2] Bogoras's "The Chukchee," p. 661.
[3] im Thurn's "Among the Indians of Guiana," p. 330.

The Shans frequently allow payment of a fine which varies in amount according to the position of the murdered man. When capital punishment is inflicted, more than one executioner assists. Each tries to avoid giving the fatal blow, and there is evidently a fear of the act of taking life.[1] Probably this fear results partly from Buddhistic teaching, which emphasises the sanctity of all life, in part from beliefs in reincarnation, also to some extent because of a vague belief in avenging tendencies of ghosts.

Murder within a clan among the Naga tribes of Assam is a rare event, but when such homicide does occur a long and bitter blood feud is engendered. Fines and periods of banishment are disciplinary punishments for murderers; sometimes retribution merely takes the form of a stealthy reprisal.[2] The Sakai reserve the death penalty for murderers, who are killed with the kind of weapon they used in committal of the crime. As a rule, the criminal takes refuge in flight to the forest, whither he is pursued and killed.[3]

A homicide of the Masai tribe has to pay blood money, in the form of cattle, to relatives of his victim. If two men fight, the injured man is compensated according to the extent of his suffering. Eight cows have to be paid by a man who causes an antagonist to lose a limb. There appears to be an appropriate fine in cattle for damage to any part of the body, including the trivial matter of injury by knocking out one tooth of an antagonist.[4] A distinction between murder and manslaughter is recognised by the Ba Thonga, who punish only deliberate homicide with a death penalty.[5]

[1] Milne's "The Shans at Home," p. 191.
[2] Hodson's "The Naga Tribes of Assam," p. 106.
[3] Skeat and Blagden's "Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula," vol. i, p. 501.
[4] Hollis's "The Masai, p. 311.
[5] Junod's "The Life of a South African Tribe," vol. i, p. 530.

The Ainu inflicted on a murderer a very severe punishment, namely, cutting the tendon of Achilles, a barbarous act which crippled the offender for life. Japanese law prevails among the Ainu at the present day, but the Rev. J. Batchelor mentions that he has seen an old Ainu man who was crippled for homicide in the days of his youth.[1]

In the Narrinyeri tribe of South-east Australia, the murderer is taken before a tribal council of his own tribesmen and those of the murdered man. If the accused is proved to be guilty of the murder he is handed over to his own clansmen to be speared to death. For manslaughter the culprit is thrashed or banished from his clan.[2]

Accidental slaughter is penalised by a heavy fine among the Baganda people. The man guilty of manslaughter has to pay twenty cows, also the same number of women, and in addition to this the fine comprises twenty hands of bark cloth and twenty goats. These possessions have to be collected from the murderer's clan, and until the fine is paid all hold themselves aloof from the guilty man.[3]

The Central Eskimo have a system of blood vengeance whereby the next of kin to a murdered man have to kill the murderer. This may be done with the greatest subtlety, even after the aggressor has lived for a time in the home of the murdered individual. The homicide may be stealthily attacked and killed when out hunting, or he may be openly challenged to a wrestling match, on the understanding that he shall be killed if defeated. On the contrary, should the murderer overcome his opponent in wrestling, he may kill a man from the opponent's supporters.[4] Such procedure furnishes another example of the striking uncertainty and irregularity of systems of blood revenge and primitive law respecting murder. In most cases, the would-be murderer has reason to hope that he will escape,

[1] "The Ainu of Japan," p. 189.
[2] Howitt's "Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," p. 341.
[3] Roscoe's "The Baganda," p. 266.
[4] Boas's "The Central Eskimo," p 582.

and in the above instance of Eskimo procedure the murderer may actually add a second crime to his original outrage.

Publicity as a Factor in Moral Training

Primitive methods of trial by ordeal carried out with the greatest noise and publicity have an undeniable effect in formulating the ideas and conduct of young people, who must be impressed with a knowledge of personal responsibility for acts committed in contravention of individual or collective rights.

Procedure in Australian aboriginal tribes illustrates the educative aspect of retribution by ordeal and single combat. An offender guilty of abduction or murder would be demanded and fetched from a neighbouring tribe. Persons accused of wrong-doing get a month's notice to appear before the assembled tribes for trial. The accused appears at the meeting armed with spears, a club, a flat shield, and a boomerang. If guilty of a private wrong, he is painted white, and his brother or any near male relative stands beside him as a second. This second, who is also armed with a shield, assists in warding off the shower of spears and boomerangs which relatives of the murdered man are allowed to throw collectively. Should the accused be hit so that blood is shed, justice is held to have been executed. On the other hand, if all the missiles are successfully warded off the accused is attacked by his enemies, who, advancing singly, deliver each a blow on the shield. If the accused refuses to be tried, he is outlawed and his brother or nearest male relative is held responsible, so has to stand up for this trial by combative ordeal. Very often the accused was killed or injured so severely that continued defence was impossible. The head man would attempt to call "enough!" when the accused had been wounded so that blood flowed.[1]

[1] Howitt's "Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," p. 336.

The spectacular nature of primitive man's attempts to execute justice and uphold unwritten laws may be exemplified from the Kurnai procedure in case of trial for causing death by magical means.

According to tribal tradition, the proceedings must be conducted by old men, who select a piece of ground for the occasion. Here the tribes concerned sit facing each other some two hundred yards apart. The accused, distinguished by red and white bands of body paint, stands in advance of his party, armed only with a shield, or at the most with a shield and a club, or possibly with a few spears. Some men on trial advance toward their adversaries dancing and brandishing their weapons aggressively; others crouch waiting for the attack. The wife of the accused is allowed to assist her husband by warding off weapons with her digging stick. At one side of the arena the most primitive of native bands sit beating skin rugs in rhythmical time. Members of the aggrieved party are painted white in token of their kinsman's death, and each is fully armed with shield, club, spears and boomerangs. An elder of the aggrieved party addresses the accused saying, "Why did you kill our brother with magic?" The reply may be, "I never did anything to him, it is all lies." Such negation of the offence appears to carry very little weight, it is the equivalent of our modern "not guilty." The ordeal commences with a shower of spears and other missiles. The accused may be wounded immediately, and at this point his relatives would interfere. Not infrequently the meeting ends in a sharp fight between the parties of the accused and the murdered man.[1]

Other illustrations of trial by ordeal are very plentiful, and all exemplify in the same way the existence of powerful incentives to obedience to tribal law. Wrong-doing causes distress to the offender himself, in addition to which the

[1] Howitt's "Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," p. 344.

culprit's near relatives and possibly the whole clan or tribe have to suffer.

The accused man of the Masai tribe drinks blood which has been given to him by a tribal elder. Appeal to spiritual powers is made in the words:—"If I have done this may God kill me." If the man has committed the crime he dies as a consequence of the appeal, but if innocent no harm befalls him.[1]

Trial by ordeal in the Shan States is carried out by the use of a cauldron of boiling water into which the accused have to dip their fingers. The person whose flesh heals most slowly is said to be the guilty party. A method less painful and more just to the innocent consists of boiling pots of water over separate fires. Each of the accused has a pot containing a prescribed quantity of water and at a given signal each of the pots is placed on a fire. A handful of uncooked rice is given to each man and at the same time these portions of grain are thrown into their respective pots. The man whose rice is least thoroughly cooked in a given time is held to be guilty. A third method is carried out by giving to each suspected person a lamp with a regulated length of wick and amount of oil. The guilty man is the one whose flame first flickers out.[2]

Even among a people of very elementary development there existed a form of tribal justice. There was among the Tasmanians little, if any, tribal government, yet there were tribal conventions which had to be obeyed. If an offence was committed against the tribe, the delinquent had to stand while a number of spears were showered upon him. These, because of the unerring aim with which they were thrown, the accused could seldom avoid. Nevertheless, on account of the quickness of his sight and the contortions of his body, he would sometimes escape unhurt.[3]

[1] Hollis's "The Masai," p. 345.
[2] Milne's "The Shans at Home," p. 193.
[3] Ling Roth's "The Aborigines of Tasmania," p. 59.

The Baganda carry out trial by ordeal by making "medicine," which is placed on the eyeballs of both plaintiff and defendant. The man on whom the preparation remains and becomes painful is the guilty person. The medicine man may touch the tongue and foot of both accuser and accused with a hot knife, which will not burn the innocent man.[1] A diviner informed Mr. Thomas that he judged who was guilty, and for that person the iron ring which the accused had to carry was left longer in the heating pot.[2]

Cruel methods of extorting confession and evidence were adopted by the Ainu when judges were convinced of the guilt of a person to whom conviction could not be brought home. A large fish cauldron containing cold water was placed over the fire. As soon as the water was warm the accused was placed in it, and there he remained until his guilt was confessed. Fear of plunging the arm into hot water, or of carrying hot iron was looked upon as a sign of guilt. Sometimes the accused had to sit before a large tub filled with water, and there he was supposed to remain until he had consumed the contents without removing his lips. Women when accused of crime had to smoke several pipes of tobacco, after which they drank tobacco ash in water. Innocence was established in the cases of women who were not ill. The Ainu regarded pain and disgrace as the most effective punishments. Infliction of a death penalty was disfavoured because the culprit was said to escape retribution in this world.[3]

[1] Roscoe's "The Baganda," p. 213. Further interesting instances of primitive methods of trial by ordeal are to be found in "History of Madagascar," Rev. W. Ellis, 1838, vol. i, p. 458.

[2] Thomas's "Anthropological Report on Sierra Leone," p. 83.

[3] Batchelor's "The Ainus of Japan," pp. 135–6, 188. The ideas of the Ainu with regard to capital punishment differ considerably from the views of primitive people in Madagascar where the death penalty was inflicted for a great variety of offences. See Ellis's "History of Madagascar," vol. i, p. 370.

Factors in Primitive Justice

The existence of punishments implies a regard for the importance of law, and although standards of conduct and methods of enforcing them vary from region to region, there are universal axioms of conduct. Differences in the treatment of homicide, theft, adultery, and other crimes are differences in degree and not in kind; there are common basic principles determining the administration of primitive law, though methods of punishment vary. The weakness and inadequacy of primitive law is apparent, for in the instances of punishment for adultery, theft, and murder, likewise in a consideration of trial by ordeal, it is evident that the cause of justice is extremely uncertain and irregular. The murderer may be killed by the first boomerang, or he may retaliate so as to add further crimes to his initial offence. The innocent may be laid low, while the original culprit is triumphantly dragged home by his relatives. A rich man may escape by payment of heavy fines, while the hunter and expert tracker who can cover his spoor may find an asylum in the tropical forest. When public feeling is aroused punishment may be swift and severe, but a culprit who can absent himself until the general wrath has subsided may escape. In causing a thief to reimburse the man he has robbed, we see a very practical form of justice well adapted to the needs of primitive society. Theft in England is regarded as a crime against society; the delinquent spends his period of labour in a penitentiary, but the product of his labour does not recoup the losses of the man whose home and property were damaged. On the contrary, the primary requirement in primitive law is restitution of property, usually with substantial interest. On the social side, there may be public exposure, corporal punishment, or banishment of the offender.

With the relative merits of different systems of main-

taining ideals of conduct, which may be high or low, effective or ineffective, we are not particularly concerned. The principal point of interest to the present inquiry is the manner in which existing standards of conduct are transmitted to a rising generation in primitive society. In other words, what are the means of mental, moral, and religious training of young people? These means of education should be considered apart from the question of Christian standards of "right" and "wrong," "good" and "bad," which, after all, are extremely vague terms, dependent for a meaning on the needs of a particular society, physical and cultural environment, or arbitrary instruction from a powerful individual or intrusive culture.

The material side of primitive morality, as evinced by the existence of law and punishment, has been examined in some detail, and an estimate has been made concerning the very strong impression which primitive retributive processes are likely to have on the development of moral ideas and conduct. Repression by punishment is dependent more on *certainty* than on *severity* of penalty and in the former of these aspects of law primitive codes are defective. The development of primitive penal discipline among backward peoples is comparable to cruel measures of mediæval England.[1]

Moral Training affected by Belief in Discarnate Existence

In addition to the formative effect of retributive justice, we have now to appreciate the educative value of all ideas concerning a non-material existence after death. Ideas of god, conceptions of a heaven, thoughts on reincarnation, and beliefs in devils or fear of ghosts may have an effect on conduct. The point of interest to the educationist

[1] W. Andrews, "By-gone Punishments," 1899.

concerns the manner in which spiritual beliefs influence morality. Pertinent questions are: Does the religion of a particular people affect their conduct? Are the gods moral beings who look for a standard of conduct from their worshippers? Do ideas of heaven associate a reward after death with conduct during life? An exhaustive inquiry into such queries would be impossible in the space available; but one may gather many examples which show that conduct may be, and in all probability is, influenced by prevalent teaching concerning a supreme being and existence beyond the grave. On the contrary, the religion may be non-moral, having reference only to a multitude of acts of ritual and the observance of taboos or prohibitions. The religious life of the Todas of Southern India takes little if any cognisance of conduct except in so far as the conduct of an individual is connected with the dairy, buffaloes, and milk, all of which are central in the religious system.[1]

The Rev. H. A. Junod says definitely of the Ba Thonga: "Their religion has no connection with the moral conduct of the individual, it neither promises reward or threatens punishment after death. Religious acts have as their sole aim material benefits in connection with terrestrial life." [2]

Although the king of the Baganda nation was in the habit of consulting tribal gods, whom he flattered with presents, he would, if disappointed or vexed by them, send emissaries to loot their temples.[3]

Primitive man is universally in fear of non-human agencies, but at the same time he attempts to control their operation by paying attention to ritual, while he is just as careful to avoid the wrath of his deities by observing "taboos" and restrictions. This idea of a careful mani-

[1] Rivers's "The Todas," pp. 554–5.
[2] "The Life of a South African Tribe," vol. ii, p. 388.
[3] Roscoe's "The Baganda," p. 273.

pulation of immaterial powers is quite antagonistic to Christian ideas of man's relationship with what is spiritual, but there is error in a supposition to the effect that the religious ideas of savages have no control over conduct, action, and morality. There is the obvious difficulty of making allowance for missionary teaching, which must within the last half century have co-ordinated religious beliefs and moral conduct.

Of the Samoans it has been said :—" I do not remember any statement to the effect that the conduct of a man in this life affected his state after death. They certainly believe this now, but whether they did so prior to the introduction of Christianity I cannot definitely say. I am inclined, however, to believe that they did not." [1] Mariner says of Tonga in 1810 that moral virtues, many of which he noted, appear to have a very slender foundation. The natives believe in no future place of reward, but what a man will equally possess, whether he lives virtuously or not. The people have no idea of a future state of punishment of any kind or degree whatever.[2]

An examination of some primitive beliefs will illustrate the manner in which religious ideals influence conduct in such a way that children are subject to a formative influence. Prevailing hopes and fears respecting a supreme being and an after life may or may not be indigenous to the tribe. But whether wholly or partly indigenous, there is no difficulty in realising the way in which such conceptions of duty, integrity, conduct, punishment, and reward, constantly, but without ostentation, affect the whole trend of juvenile development.

Eschatology.—The Shans do not think of death as a calamity that ends human existence : on the contrary, dying is regarded as an incident in life. For the Shans there

[1] Brown's " Melanesians and Polynesians," p. 261.
[2] " Account of Natives of Tonga Islands," vol. ii, p. 147.

are said to be places of fiery punishment, but no everlasting retribution. In the life after death there will be expiation of sins committed while the individual was on earth, but for all there is a prospect of arrival at "Nik-Pan," the city of peace.[1] Naga tribes of Assam think that the soul leaves the body at death in the form of a winged insect. Another belief states that a non-material counterpart of the human body remains in the death chamber; to this astral body food and other sustenance are given. It is thought by Nagas that the souls of the dead are classified according to the lives they have lived, also with regard to the manner of death.[2] There is also a belief in successive existences and reincarnation of ancestral spirits. Buddhistic teaching may account for the tenure of such ideas, though the theory of reincarnation is very common in many Australian and African tribes who are quite unaffected by Buddhism. Nandi ideas of an after life do not offer much hope or inspiration, for existence after death is a replica of the individual's life on earth. The rich remain opulent after death, while the poor continue their struggle with poverty.[3] Ba Thonga people have a conception of heaven as a place of complete rest. Not only is heaven thought of as a place, it is personified and held responsible for all untoward circumstances varying from severe thunderstorms to the birth of twins. A Ba Thonga "Tale of Heaven" gives a slight indication of the entry thereto being to some extent dependent on good conduct. A girl who feared her mother's anger because of a broken pitcher climbed to heaven, where she found hospitality and a child of her own because she had been good and obedient. The sister of this girl tried to gain access to heaven in the same way,

[1] Milne's "The Shans at Home," p. 89.

[2] Hodson's "The Naga Tribes of Assam," pp. 158, 162, 164. Compare "Pagan Tribes of Borneo," vol. i, p. 265, for belief in classification of souls according to the manner of death.

[3] Hollis's "The Nandi," p. 40.

but during life she had been so wicked that on her approach heaven exploded and the girl's bones were blown to her parents' house.[1] Another point illustrating the influence of religious belief on conduct is to be gathered from Ba Thonga ideas concerning heaven and theft. Intervention of heaven in the matter of detecting thieves is for the tribe in question an established fact. When a thunderstorm breaks, people who have missed belongings stand at the doors of houses tenanted by suspected thieves. Very probably the inmate, who is terrified by the storm, will throw the stolen articles out of the door.[2] Such belated action of a man's conscience, in response to fear engendered by a supernatural belief, is an example of the moral training afforded by primitive ideas of punishment from a non-material source. Ba Thonga ideas concerning continued existence after death are similar to beliefs of the Nandi already noted. The Thonga believe that the human soul continues its existence after death, leading a life similar to that passed on earth.[3] Blackfeet Indians entertain the belief that after death of the body the spirit travels eastward toward the sand-hills, a region inhabited by the ghosts of people and animals. Existence in this inhospitable area, which is hemmed in by quicksands, is similar to the life led on earth.[4] Similar theories are held by certain Paraguayan Indians.[5] Chukchee ideas of an after life bear on two points of conduct, namely, theft and kindness to animals. A dead person has to traverse difficult paths before gaining access to the world of spirits. The Chukchee believe that the soul passes through a country of dogs, and a man who has ill-treated these animals will be severely bitten by them. Dead relatives are said to

[1] Junod's "The Life of a South African Tribe," vol. ii, p. 393.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 404. [3] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 167.
[4] McClintock's "The Old North Trail," p. 148.
[5] W. B. Grubb, "An Unknown People in an Unknown Land," London, 1911, p. 120.

meet the souls of those recently deceased in order to assist them along the intricate country. Those who have committed theft are likely to be met by the owner of the stolen goods, for there appears to be an idea that the soul takes with it a non-material counterpart of worldly possessions.[1] A long journey for the soul of the deceased is part of the beliefs held by Todas of Southern India. Tortuous paths lead through woods, where the ghostly traveller has to knock on a stone, an action which takes away all desire for the material world. A further obstacle to progress is provided by a thread bridge across a river over which all spirits have to pass. People who have led wicked lives fall into the river and are bitten by leeches. Those who cross the thread successfully go straight to heaven, but souls who fall into the river have to spend a probationary period among the dwellers of the swamps. The extent of this probationary period is relative to the magnitude of offences committed during life. Selfish, jealous, or grudging people, also those who have committed offences against the sacred dairy, are most likely to fall from the bridge of rope.[2] The idea of falling into the river does not influence the conduct of the Todas to any great extent, for only a little delay and discomfort are involved. Eventually all travellers reach heaven.[3] Akikuyu people have a definite code of morality dealing with theft, murder, and other crimes, but they do not always consider that existence after death can be affected by behaviour in this life.[4]

Varied Conceptions of Deity.—Ideas of primitive man concerning a deity are, like conceptions of an after life, somewhat unconvincing with regard to the relation between religion and morality. On the whole, in spite of some

[1] Bogoras's "The Chukchee," *Journal of Jesup Expedition to the North Pacific*, 1907, p. 336.
[2] Rivers's "The Todas," pp. 398–9.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 399.
[4] Routledge and Routledge's "With a Prehistoric People" (the Akikuyu), p. 245.

instances to the contrary, the conduct of individuals must to some extent be subconsciously influenced by religious ideas. For long periods, moral codes may exist only because of their utilitarian value in maintaining social order and stability, or because they are enforced by strong individuals of the tribe. Adoption and retention of a code might also be due to its introduction by people of a higher culture.

The Masai recognise a black god and a red god, the former good, the latter malicious. The black god said:—"Let us give the people some water, for they are dying of hunger." The red god soon wished to stop the supply, but this the black deity would not allow, for he said:—"I shall not allow my people to be killed," and he has been able to protect them for he lives near at hand. Pouring out libations of milk, water, food, and grass appear to be the most necessary acts in courting favour with the black god. Such treatment of a deity is typical of the relationship between primitive man and his very jealous supreme beings.[1]

Neighbours of the Masai, namely, the Nandi, have vague, unformulated beliefs in a supreme deity "Asista," the sun who dwells in the sky. He created man and beast; and to him prayers and sacrifices are offered. In addition to the sun god, there are for the Nandi two thunder gods, the one kind in disposition, the other malevolent. This conception is not unlike that of the black and red gods respected by the Masai. Spirits of deceased ancestors are feared and placated with offerings of food, because they are thought to have the power of causing sickness and death. A devil, half-man, half-bird, is said to haunt the earth luring children to destruction.

A prayer recited by adult Nandi twice a day is addressed to the sun god and deceased ancestors. The prayer may be somewhat freely translated:—

[1] Hollis's "The Masai," p. 264.

"O ! God, do thou thine ear incline,
Protect my children and my kine.
E'en if thou art weary still forbear
And hearken to my constant prayer.
When shrouded 'neath the cloak of night
In splendrous sleep beyond our sight,
And when across the sky by day
Thou movest, still to thee I pray.
Dread shades of our departed sires,
Ye who can make or mar desires,
Slain by no mortal hand, ye dwell
Beneath the earth. Oh guard us well."

Special prayers are rendered during war, also after cattle have been raided, when pestilence breaks out, likewise during harvest and drought. Petitions appear to ask chiefly for material benefits, the value of prayer as a stimulus to moral conduct does not appear to have been attained.

Gods of the Ba Thonga tribe may be divided into those of the family and those of the nation. The latter are invoked in case of national disaster through war, famine or pestilence, the former are petitioned only in family matters. Gods of bitterness are the souls of departed men who have been drowned, killed by wild beasts, or struck dead by lightning. Such deities are greatly to be feared. Bush gods are malevolent beings who are greatly dreaded, but their character does not appear to be very different from that of ordinary ghosts.[1] The Ba Thonga deities are not deemed worthy of anything more than superficial flattery and attention. Ancestor gods show no moral progress and the only sin they punish is neglect of themselves.[2] All prayers addressed to ancestor gods are devoid of awe. During sacrifice, natives laugh, speak in a loud voice, dance, sing obscene songs, and even interrupt the prayer with remarks made to one another about family matters.[3] The influence of ideas of such gods must be ineffective in controlling or guiding conduct. Children imitate their

[1] Junod's "The Life of a South African Tribe," vol. ii, p. 348.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 385. [3] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 383.

elders, and religious training touches only the most formal acts, which are necessary to avoid the displeasure of national gods.

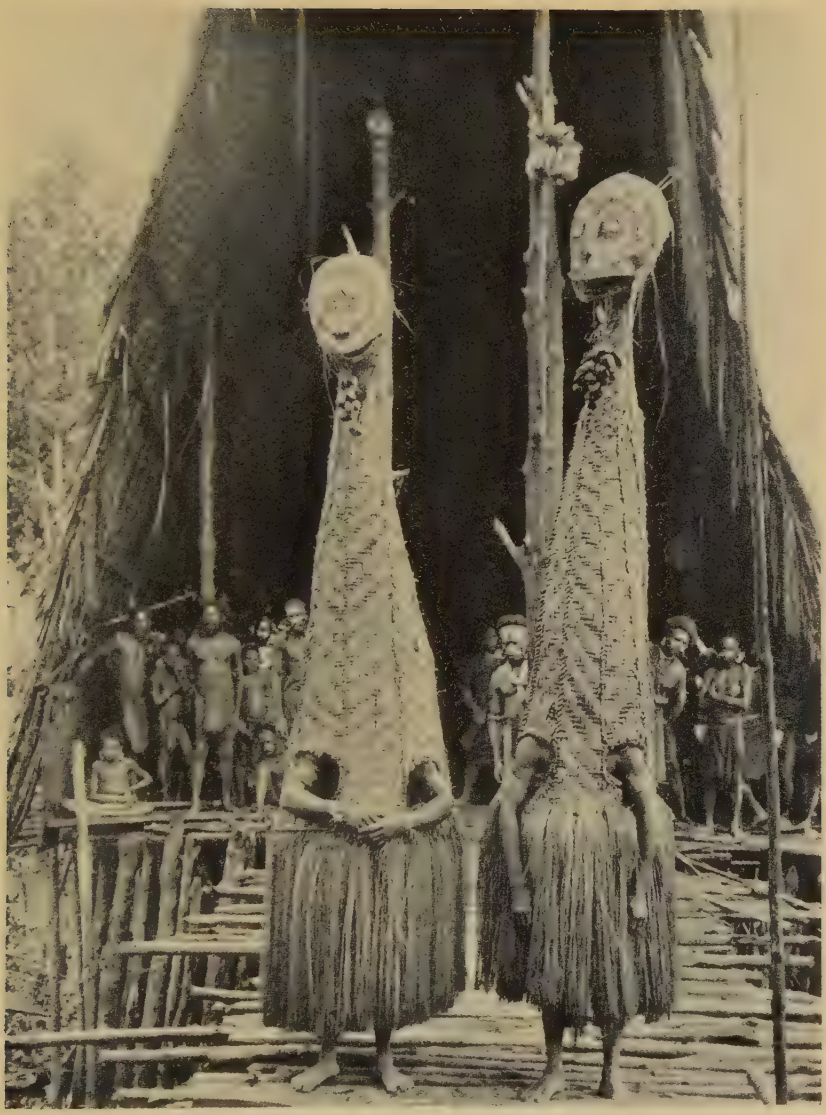
Blackfeet Indians are believers in the supernatural and its control over human destiny. The Great Spirit is everywhere and permeates every form of life or natural feature. Sun worship is carried out punctiliously and for Indian tribes generally there is a close co-ordination between spiritual and mundane life. The sun dance is not merely a revolting test of human endurance for the purpose of selecting chiefs and leaders. When exhausted young men fall out of the competition they are denied all human aid, for complete reliance is placed in the Great Spirit.[1] The religion of the North American Indians certainly does influence their lives. At the great annual religious festival of the Blackfeet, proceedings commence with the vow of a chaste woman made to the sun god for recovery of the sick. Divine power is everywhere in Indian tribes allied with chastity, courage, strength, and endurance.

In South-east Australia the aborigines believe in Daramulun, a god whose image is set up during initiation ceremonies. Boys are at this time brought into contact with religious influences, in other words, they are made "good and glad and strong." Among the Kurnai, Bunjil, the god, approves of considerate treatment for the aged. Should the hunter's catch be insufficient for himself, his wife, and children, he need not divide with others. But if he found that his father had no food he would give him what had been procured, then go to look for more. The tribes-people said, "Bunjil was pleased when he saw that the old people and children were provided for." [2]

Apart from the restraining effect of religious ideas of

[1] McClintock's "The Old North Trail," pp. 150, 167–8, 170; Catlin's "North American Indians," pp. 242–3.

[2] Howitt's "Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," p. 766.



THE TABOO GOBLINS OF URAMA.

These are employed by the old men of the tribe to keep the village in control, and to guard certain fruits and vegetables for use at festival time.

(F. Hurley: "Pearls and Savages." G. P. Putnam's Sons, Ltd.)

god and a life beyond the present existence, there are other disciplinary factors which indirectly influence the development of a moral calibre in children of primitive races.

When a man has committed a murder, it is said that either he will be ill or be seized by murderous madness, which will hold him until an expiatory ceremony has been performed. The Angoni believe that if pestilence attacks a village where the moral tone is good, all the patients will recover.[1]

Taboos as a Factor in Moral Training

From the time of puberty and incorporation in tribal life young people are under the formative influence of taboos or prohibitions. These touch every phase of social, family, and individual life from the event of childbirth to the burial ceremony. Restrictions have a disciplinary value of a negative kind, and the frequent " Thou shalt nots " of primitive existence at once deny the idea that the life of a savage is one of unrestricted freedom. In Ceylon, thieves dare not steal when the owner of the property they covet has placed a taboo on his possessions by dedicating them to the devil.[2] Maoris of New Zealand used to preserve their possessions from thieves by placing a taboo on the goods.[3] A prohibition of this kind invokes supernatural punishment on the person who violates it. Livingstone pointed out that many natives of South Africa were afraid to rob because of their belief in supernatural retribution.[4] Sexual morality has been strengthened by prohibitions and fear of their violation. The Karens of Burma believe that

[1] Werner's " The Natives of British Central Africa," London, 1906.

[2] R. Percival, " An Account of the Island of Ceylon, London," 1803, p. 198.

[3] Rev. R. Taylor, " New Zealand and Its Inhabitants," second ed., London, 1870, pp. 167, 171.

[4] " Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa," London, 1857, p. 285.

adultery has an injurious influence over crops.[1] A similar belief prevails among the Nagas of Assam.[2] In Bengal, there is a widespread belief that adultery causes the inhabitants of a village to fall a prey to pestilence or the attacks of tigers.[3]

Summary of Factors indirectly affecting Moral Training

We may at this point conclude the chapter by drawing together the evidence respecting forces of a formative character which act on the conscious and subconscious life of a child in a primitive tribe. The outstanding features of our inquiry are relevant to existing standards of conduct and the various ways in which these are maintained and transmitted. In the first place, we satisfied ourselves that standards of morality do exist, by a consideration of evidence supplied by travellers possessed of first-hand information gleaned by many years of contact with the people of whom they speak. Of such evidence the following quotation is typical:—"The ordinary Indian in his natural state and before he feels the influence of white men is of decidedly admirable morality. There are, of course, exceptions, but such individuals are very rare because they are soon killed or driven from the tribe. To women and children and to those weaker than himself the Indian is gentle. He is very observant of the rights of his equals, from whom he in turn receives a like observance. To his superiors, the head of the family, and the headman of the settlement he is as obedient as a good child."[4] The early effects of contact

[1] Rev. F. Mason, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1868, part ii, No. 3, p. 147, article on "Dwellings, Works of Art, Laws, etc., of the Karens."

[2] T. C. Hodson, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. xxxvi, 1906, p. 94. "The Genna amongst the Tribes of Assam."

[3] Lieut. Thomas Shaw, *Asiatic Researches*, 4th ed., 1807, pp. 60–2.

[4] im Thurn's "Among the Indians of Guiana," p. 213.

with civilisation are demoralising, and the majority of travellers who eulogise primitive people for their hospitality, honesty, or other good quality, add the words, " in their native state and before the advent of white men." Spencer and Gillen say that young Australian aborigines coming under the influence of white men on a cattle ranch are alienated from the restraining presence of old men of their tribe. Primitive moral codes are set aside and no substitute is provided, hence the rapid degeneration in conduct.[1] Harsh treatment of the sick and aged has mitigating circumstances in the exigencies of tribal life and the willingness of the impotent to sacrifice themselves for the welfare of their unit. To the examples, which are exceptions from the general instances of harshness toward aged people, we may add the remarks of Howitt, who says that in the Kurnai tribe of South-east Australia, a man too old to travel would be carried by his son, by his wife's brother, or his daughter's husband. " I have known many instances of this kind, including several cases among the Kurnai of men carrying their wives about the country when the women were too old or too sick to walk." [2]

In attempting to show how existing standards of conduct were likely to be impressed on young people by indirect means, the value of tribal stories and legends was discussed. Folk-lore tales, collected from primitive races in all parts of the world, impress the need for perseverance, hospitality, integrity, bravery, obedience to parents and tribal elders; purity is rewarded and vice condemned. Rev. Henri A. Junod, who spent many years of detailed observation with the Ba Thonga, pictures the inhabitants of a village gathered round their fireplaces after the evening meal in order to be amused by narrators of both sexes and all ages. " I have

[1] " Across Australia," vol. i, p. 186.

[2] " Native Tribes of S.E. Australia," p. 766. For consideration of sick and aged see also Man's " The Andaman Islanders," p. 24.

heard little girls often amusing their playmates with tales. The moralising aim may be unconscious, but the conclusion of the tales is undoubtedly moral, showing, as it does, that bad deeds or bad characters meet with due punishment. . . . In fact, the code of native elementary morals could be extracted from tales."[1] Conduct is regulated by a variety of beliefs in supreme beings and an after life, though there is no ground for thinking that a general connection is established between religion and morality. Ritual and taboo are required by the deities of primitive man, but, in general, native beliefs concerning gods or supermen, and life hereafter, a shadowy existence not unlike the present, are not the kind which exert a powerful influence over conduct. General statements for the unnumbered millions of primitive men are obviously untrustworthy, and a connection between religion and morality would have to be worked out locally, with due consideration to the weight of missionary teaching and general contact with white races. A belief of the Baganda people has definite reference to earthly punishment being continued into the next world. The loss of an eye was not merely the sign which marked an adulterer in this life; it is believed that the deformity will proclaim the man's character in life beyond the grave. The thief who had been caught and deprived of his hand was for ever maimed and his ghost bore the stigma of thief.[2] Again Akikuyu people say that their god, who lives on Kenya, decreed that a man should not strike his father or mother. The deity said:—"Thou shalt not kill a man with a spear." To children he said:—"Do not disobey your mother and do not steal. Do not say, 'I would like someone else's house or his wife.'" Such teaching may be indigenous, but the precepts bear a strong resemblance to several of the commandments which would

[1] "The Life of a South African Tribe," vol. ii, pp. 191, 203.
[2] Roscoe's "The Baganda," p. 273.

be taught by missionaries. And these Mosaic precepts are derived from the morality of Egypt in the fourth millennium.

Whatever the criteria of conduct happen to be, they will be transmitted to juveniles by many indirect influences the operation of which is interesting to the educationist and psychologist. Inculcation of a code is assisted, not merely in a quiet unconscious way by stories, taboos, or prohibitions, and religious ideas concerning a supreme being and a life apart from the body. In addition to the above formative influences, there are tribal laws which are upheld by the headman and councillors. An offender is arraigned before the elders, who pronounce sentence, but, as we have seen, there is in blood revenge, combat, and trial by ordeal an irregularity of justice well expressed by an author who speaks of retributive justice in West Africa. "In theory, murder, treason, incendiarism, and adultery are punished by death. But rank and influence of the accused count and the death penalty is often reduced to a fine."[1] The solemnity of great days when the accused is tried by ordeal and combat is impressive, for individual responsibility is shared by the clan or tribe to which the accused belongs. At an early age young people must learn from these object lessons that breach of the law will not be forgotten, crime and punishment are cause and effect. Respect for a code will naturally be quickened by an increase of individual responsibility and a knowledge that punishment will be certain.

Examples of conduct conforming to the best and highest standards of the tribe are to be expected from chiefs. For instance, in a unit where hospitality is valued: "A chief must be kind-hearted and open-handed, ever ready to share his food supply with the poorest of the tribe. His tipi

[1] Ellis's "The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa," p. 223.

must always welcome the stranger, and it devolved upon him to entertain generously the visiting chieftains and delegates from other tribes." [1]

Beyond a doubt, there are in primitive tribes many high ideals of conduct, and as a supplement to direct instruction given during formal initiation into adult life, there exists a wide and varied array of mental and moral factors, which from day to day affect the field of consciousness of adolescents. The social reformer and administrator will find a foundation on which to build a superstructure of moral and religious truths. Just as a trained pedagogue makes skilful use of the child's existing knowledge and sense impressions in order to lead to unexplored fields of learning, so the worker among primitive races must analyse the morality of the particular tribe in which he lives. A good psychologist, who has social reform at heart, will not commence by a direct and determined onslaught on everything which is primitive in conception and execution. On the contrary, he will gradually eliminate the elements of barbarity and injustice, while sound principles of primitive law will form the keystone of a new social and legal structure.

[1] McClintock's "The Old North Trail," p. 189. Compare Ellis's "History of Madagascar," vol. i, p. 198.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The data presented in the foregoing chapters have been arranged to demonstrate the following points.

1. The urgent need for attention to maternity and infantile welfare among backward races. Such a study should make a preliminary classification into groups which are stationary, progressive, and retrogressive in point of numbers. These divisions should then be examined with regard to the following ethnological factors. (1) Desire for children. (2) Preference for boys and girls. (3) Ideas of conception and reincarnation with special reference to belief in supernatural causes of pregnancy. (4) Care of the expectant mother, with special reference to restrictions relating to work and food. (5) Isolation before delivery, *modus operandi* of midwives, use of charms and spells. (6) Restrictions on the father. (7) Infanticide, including views respecting twins, posthumous children, fate of a child whose mother dies during delivery, exposure of children, deformed children, the first-born, prolonged lactation, period of separation from husband, and sacrifice of children. (8) Care of infants, including massage, bathing, feeding with banana, rice and other starchy foods; chewing of tobacco by the mother, who transfers food from her mouth to that of her infant. (9) Naming of children, also discipline and play. (10) Care of the mother after delivery, time of resuming work. (11) Proportion of the sexes of marriageable age, with observations on existence of polygyny and polyandry. Carr Saunders says that poly-

gamy does not affect fecundity, which depends on lactation period,[1] age at marriage, early intercourse, and development of fat. (12) Means of securing abortion. These considerations should be supplemented by examination of extraneous laws which have altered the whole psychological environment, often abolishing native codes of morality and social institutions without giving any replacements. There are, in addition, the totally different problems of geographical position, food supply, nature and extent of contact with other races, miscegenation and its effect on fertility, nature of epidemic diseases, and possibility of giving rewards for improved cleanliness of villages, sizes of huts, and number of healthy children.

2. Everywhere among primitive races there is the nucleus of a sound development in handicraft, morality, and social obligation. The policy of reformers should be evolutionary and not revolutionary, while semi-Europeanising in clothing and speech is to be deprecated. Serious anthropological training is an essential for administrative, educational, missionary, and economic enterprise.

3. The impressive uniformity of educational systems and moralities in ancient Egypt, also among primitive races the world over; likewise through Greece and Rome to Mediaeval and Modern Europe gives a *primâ facie* case for common origin. The hypothesis of a genesis in the archaic civilisation of Egypt, as opposed to that of repeated independent evolution, provides in some measure a satisfactory explanation of many otherwise inexplicable identities in widely separated societies. The most impressive of such recurrent beliefs and practices, all of which have their analogies in Early Dynastic Egypt, are the following points which have been discussed in preceding chapters. It is frankly admitted, however, that the apparent analogies are suggestive and by no means conclusive.

[1] "The Population Problem," ch. v, pp. 98, 104.

(1) Superstitious regard for the name as part of the person. Change of name after sickness or initiation. Lucky and unlucky names. The name as an essential for immortality. Magical acts to be accomplished only by use of names.

(2) Widespread fear of twins often resulting in murder of one or both. This fear may be due to a vague apprehension of what is an infrequent occurrence. More probably the regard, be it hostile or favourable, arises from the Egyptian veneration for Horus, and Set, his twin of evil, also for Isis and Nephthys, the twin sisters. Budge[1] says definitely that Egyptians had no hostile feeling towards twins, with regard to whom daily life was as tolerant as mythology. Detestation of twins often results from the primitive belief that a double birth proves adultery.

(3) Dedication of children to a deity has its prototype in presentation of a royal Egyptian child to the gods.[2]

(4) Use of charms, prohibitions, and spells may have their origin in Egyptian regard for Meskheret, goddess of births, who directed the operations of midwives.[3]

(5) Ignorance respecting conception, and assumption of non-human creation and predestination of children has its prototype in the Egyptian idea of Khnum, the potter, making children on his wheel, while Thoth stands by notching a branch to mark the allotted span of life.

(6) Codes of morality taught at initiation, and otherwise inculcated by story and proverb, are identical with instructions in " The Book of the Dead," also with

[1] " Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection," 1911, vol. ii, p. 224.
[2] Breasted's " Ancient Records of Egypt," vol. ii, par. 217.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, par. 206.

precepts embodied in the " Negative Confession," the Prisse Papyrus, and early funereal inscriptions.

(7) Various magical practices, especially those relating to therapy, use of amulets, wax figures symbolising an enemy, and importance attached to possession of any part of the person against whom a spell is directed, have their prototypes in Egypt.

(8) Initiation of medicine men, members of a secret society, sons of chiefs, likewise tribal initiation of boys and girls, all show the same fundamental procedure of transfer of power from elders to novices, hereditary requirements, silence restriction, hardships, direct instruction, rebirth, and new social status. Such points connect all forms of initiation with ceremonies practised during the acquisition of power by the priest-kings of Egypt. Physical suffering common to all initiation is possibly a modification of sacrifice and death of the king.

(9) Employment of women in temple service in Persia, India, Peru, and Mexico, also the widespread employment of priestesses in Indonesia, Formosa, and Polynesia, combined with the recognition of medicine women in many North American and Siberian tribes, recalls to mind dedication of women to temple service in Egypt, where beliefs respecting Theogamy maintained the importance and social status of women in both religious and communal life.

The inception of similar systems, and occurrence of many identical details herein compared may have been due primarily to growth of moral concepts, religious beliefs, and superstitious practices in remote times, long before the dawn of history. In the Nile Valley such factors were welded into a powerful and logical system, which constantly grew in force and complexity by the addition of deliberate

inventions of master minds striving to further their own ascendancy in early dynastic times. Hypothesis supported by evidence suggests that from such a focus there radiated a complex of usages relating to social, magical, religious, and moral training. In all probability Polynesian migrations were mainly responsible for dissemination of ideas and practices over wide areas, possibly to the shores of the American continents.

General Summary.—The so-called backward races have proved themselves to be educationists, teachers, psychologists and disciplinarians of no mean order; though they have graduated only in the academy of nature, whose schoolmaster is a stern discipline of natural consequences.

In every point of our chapters dealing with maternity and child welfare; the utilitarian value of play; preparation of boys and girls for adult life; recognition and utilisation of special ability; and the formative value of moral stories, religious ideas, and disciplinary object lessons; the educationist of to-day may profit by the mistakes of primitive man, while at the same time he may find ideals worthy of emulation.

An administrator, or social and religious reformer, who wishes to ameliorate the condition of some particular tribe will find his task easier on account of a knowledge of the mentality and viewpoint of primitive man. Evolutionary changes are preferable to sudden sweeping reforms if it is required to preserve happy relationships between natives and visiting Europeans. The former have rights of land tenure, moral, and possibly religious and legal systems; and in not a few instances sudden infractions of these have led to internecine disputes which have delayed desirable reforms.

At this juncture an appropriate line of thought may be commenced by asking the nature of the correspondence, if any be found to exist, between primitive and modern ideas concerning motherhood and infantile welfare.

The treatment afforded to an expectant mother in primitive society is excusable only on the ground that women of savage races are of exceptionally strong physique.[1] A few food taboos; continuation of domestic work and agricultural labour up to the time of parturition; attention from rough unqualified midwives; isolation during delivery; purification before returning to camp; also an early resumption of work after the birth, are the outstanding features of primitive childbirth. The infant too, even when welcome, relies for a successful entry into the world and a hold on life chiefly on the strength of its physique, though we had to notice cases in which the midwives applied massage, washed the infant, and wrapped it in soft coverings.

In general, one may say that both mother and child continue to exist on account of a natural resilience of constitution, for the chief assistance given to them takes the form of charms and amulets for keeping away misfortunes, real and imaginary.

Abortion and infanticide have been, and probably are to-day, extensively practised, for their suppression is extremely difficult. Of the affection of primitive parents there can be no doubt; their kindness amounts to an indulgence, which is reprehensible from the educationist's point of view. In all probability the rigorous rites of puberty are found necessary in order to inculcate habits of obedience and discipline, which have been totally neglected in early years. An analysis of the causes of infanticide has been made, but statistics showing infantile mortality are not available for the vast majority of primitive races. For the Ekoi people of West Africa, it has been said that infantile mortality is exceedingly high owing to overcrowding and the existence of evil odours. "So high is it indeed as to be

[1] Dr. G. Harley, "Recuperative Bodily Power of Man in a Rude and Highly Civilised State." *J.A.I.*, 1888, vol. xvii, p. 109.

hardly more than covered by the birth-rate." One day sixty-two married women were chosen at haphazard. To these it was found that 270 children had been born, of whom 163 had died. This gives an average of 4·3 children to each woman, and of these infants only 1·7 survived.[1]

The subject of infantile welfare and the notoriously high death-rate in Great Britain indicate the slender chances of survival of infants of primitive races whose ranks are thinned by neglect of the mother; superstitions respecting twins; exposure at birth in order to test for physical fitness; injudicious feeding with rice and bananas at a very early age; desire of the mother to avoid prolonged lactation and separation from her husband; shortage of food in the tribe, and the necessity for quick movements in pursuit of game or to escape a foe. Possibly the high mortality is a biological necessity, for "it is of the utmost importance that every group should approximate to the optimum number." This is not fixed, but variable with habits, customs, skill, and changes in physical environment.[2]

The following figures taken from a Government report on maternity and child welfare[3] indicate the difficulties which beset our Ministry of Health. How much greater, then, is the problem which has to be solved by British administrators in regions inhabited by primitive races?

England and Wales.

Periods.	*Deaths of infants per 1000 Births.*
1871–80	149
1881–90	142
1891–00	153
1901–10	128
1911–15	110
1922	77

[1] Talbot's "In the Shadow of the Bush," p. 12.

[2] Carr Saunders, "The Population Problem," London, 1922, p. 476.

[3] "Maternity and Child Welfare." Report on the provisions made by Public Health Authorities and Voluntary agencies in England and Wales, 1917. (Published by Wyman and Sons, Ltd.), pp. 1, 15 *et seq.*

In 1922 infantile mortality estimated per 1000 births was 77, the lowest figure ever recorded for England and Wales, the next lowest having been 80 in the year 1920.

London (Population 4,521,685).

Year.	*Births.*	*Birth-rate.*	*Infant Deaths.*	*Infant Mortality per* 1000.
1911–14	110,951	24·6	11,968	108
1915	102,117	22·6	11,464	112

During early years of childhood juveniles of primitive races devote their whole time to play, which is largely imitative of the actions of adults. In allowing this freedom of action resulting in an all-round physical development, accompanied by the acquisition of useful sense impressions and quick reactions to new situations, primitive man has adopted a plan advocated by great educationists who, breaking away from the Renaissance ideal of stereotyped classical learning, advocated the realm of nature as the young child's best tutor.

Sports have for a long period been a factor of ever-increasing importance in school life, and at last the criticism of Matthew Arnold and others has borne fruit. In 1880 H. M. Inspector of Public Elementary Schools said:—"Bodily exercise also and recreation deserve far more care in our schools than they receive. We take too little thought of the bodies of our school children." [1]

The system of physical education including organised games adopted by primitive races has been by many generations the precursor of present-day instructions issued by the Board of Education, which calls attention to the direct mental and moral training of play and physical exercise. These factors of child discipline encourage alertness, accuracy, precision, memory, initiative, and

[1] "Reports on Elementary Schools, 1852–1882," edited by F. S. Marvin. Board of Education publication, 1908, Wyman & Sons, Ltd., Fetter Lane, E.C., p. 215.

endurance, in addition to providing a healthy outlet for the emotions.[1]

In his generous system of physical education and mental training through sense impression, primitive man has unconsciously forestalled the standards of Montaigne, who, in "The Education of Children," states that it is not sufficient to fortify the souls of juveniles, we must also make their sinews strong. Sir Thomas Elyot's "Governour," published in 1531, stated the necessity of education being "apt to the furniture of a gentleman's personage, adapting his body to hardness, strength, and agility, to help therewith himself in peril, which may happen in wars or other necessity." Mulcaster, the first headmaster of a school founded in 1561 by the Merchant Taylors' Company, published his "Positions" in 1581, wherein he enforces the necessity of "enabling their bodies with health," chiefly by exercise taken in the early morning air, "somewhat before meat." Mulcaster emphasised the necessity for adaptation of exercise to individual differences, for "all constitutions be not of the same mould." Primitive man would argue that his business was to standardise and make men of the same mould, while he might add that those who were incapable of enduring the moulding process were of little use to the tribe and could therefore be eliminated.[2] Primitive man is inclined to over-exercise the factor of suggestion in order to produce a social type, and in so doing may be paying too dearly for the improvement in juvenile behaviour.[3] Gradually we are getting away from Spartan ideas, which, like those of savage races, have in view the typical fighter and his evolution. Nowadays our organised games, dances, and Swedish exercises, together with the

[1] Board of Education, "Syllabus of Physical Training for Schools," 1919, p. 10. Rout's (Mrs. Hornibrook) "Sex and Exercise," London 1925, shows the value of abdominal movements in primitive dancing.

[2] J. H. Holmes, "In Primitive New Guinea," 1924, p. 49.

[3] H. Crichton Miller, "The New Psychology and the Teacher," p. 44.

eurythmics of quite recent innovation, strive to produce a strong, well-balanced muscular system, capable of endurance and rhythmical grace, while no less important is the attention given to exercises which affect the internal organs.

The educative play of primitive children is in complete agreement with the ideas of Froebel and Pestalozzi. The former of these educationists flourished in the period 1783–1852, between which dates he constantly urged the value of learning through self-activity exercised in accumulating a useful store of sense impressions. Both Pestalozzi and his disciple Friedrich Froebel erred on the side of leniency and weak discipline, both of which form vulnerable points in the system of training followed by juveniles of primitive races.

Primitive man is pronounced in his belief that a boy who plays with girls for a long period during childhood grows up to be lacking in virility. Hence we find that as a rule the sexes are separated before the age of eight years, at which time little girls commence domestic and agricultural training, while small boys continue their games of hunting and fighting. In these pastimes there is an approach to the Dalton plan, which allows considerable freedom in the classroom with opportunities for self-direction of activity. This very early relegation of little girls to work which they will follow for life forms a weak point in the system of savage races.

The general education of boys has aspects to which modern educationists could give assent. Elders of the tribe show themselves to be capable of planning a scheme of instruction which shall first and foremost make the individual a useful and obedient member of his group. In addition to this, a boy derives personal benefit from the demand that he shall be hardy, enduring, and capable of supporting himself and his dependents. Physical efficiency combined with personal prowess in hunting and war, supplemented by

a respect for moral and religious standards of the tribe, form the essence of primitive man's educational scheme.

Such a general aim commands our respect for the ideals of savage races; now what may one say of their methods? These, it is true, are of a rough-and-ready type, but not too drastic in consideration of the extreme freedom of youth up to the age of puberty and the vigorous nature of boys in primitive society. Fear of tribal elders; fear of the consequences of breaking tribal law has to be induced, and by secrecy, mystery, seclusion, hardship, physical endurance, suppression of emotion, and the introduction of competition and rivalry, primitive instructors have shown themselves to be good teachers and psychologists. They play upon the boy's curiosity, wonder, fear of the unknown, natural self-assertiveness, pride, desire to excel, and powers of self-restraint, by methods whose details have been given in the chapter concerning a general equipment of boys for tribal life. It may be urged that the savage under-estimates the intrinsic value of moral conduct, and that he shows himself too strictly utilitarian; good behaviour is apparently recommended on account of expediency. Conduct prescribed within the tribe probably does not extend for the benefit of weak neighbours, though moral codes concerning hospitality, honesty, and regard for human life are sufficiently elastic to embrace powerful foes who are capable of retaliation. On the whole, civilised visitors who have respected native women and customs have been well treated. For the modern theologian and social reformer primitive man is at fault in trying to bring pressure to bear on deities and non-human forces; in other words, he is not sufficiently submissive. A further weakness may be found in the lack of religious sanction for moral conduct and beliefs; religion tends to be ritualistic and prohibitive without greatly affecting inner consciousness and action.

These and other weak points in the primitive system

might legitimately be brought forward; and one could scarcely deny the vulnerable points in the moral armour of savage races. Nevertheless, the weaknesses of primitive man, in both religious and moral beliefs, are but the deficiencies of the whole human race, they are not in any sense peculiar to primitive society.

Instruction to boys at puberty is strong, direct, personal, impressive, and there is behind it more than a hint of the power which can break those who refuse to fall into line. In giving direct and emphatic moral instruction during puberty rites, primitive method is more consonant with modern plan than one might at first suppose. That it is not obedience to external authority that we need so much as enlightened moral sense most would agree, but it is equally true that " there remains and will remain much good in the old-fashioned habit of implicit obedience." [1] The method adopted by elders of primitive tribes is one of direct moral instruction by brief sentences, and in a recently published memorandum there is the recommendation that ethical teaching " must often be dogmatic rather than reasoned, and being dogmatic it must be brief if it is to be effective. A single sentence may easily carry more weight than a long discourse." [2]

To a certain extent the educational ideals of Herbert Spencer are forestalled in the *modus operandi* of primitive man. In the " Principles of Education " there is a general theme advocating the bringing of a pupil into complete correspondence with his environment by means of an educational system aiming at complete living. Spencer dwells at length on the nature of social obligation, a point reiterated by tribal elders, and in addition to this the modern philosopher advocates the teaching of subjects which tend

[1] Felix Adler, " The Moral Instruction of Children," 1892 (Preface).
[2] " Suggestions for Consideration of Teachers," Board of Education, 1921, p. 9.

directly toward preservation of the individual and the unit which owns him. In this social ideal primitive man excels, and his methods, though crude, justify themselves by achievement of the end, namely, individual efficiency and social solidarity.

Savage races have a system of training which imparts an understanding of the nature of social duty, while in no less degree does it show the reciprocal relationship between the unit and the group. An individual owes allegiance to tribal elders, chiefs, and the tribe as a body, while on the other hand he may claim protection and redress from theft, adultery, and violence within or without his group. This understanding of social obligations and privileges is intelligently approached by primitive teachers, who are full of concrete examples of the results of breach of tribal law. Old men are the repositories of knowledge relating to the origin, growth, and *raison d'être* of primitive institutions, whether of a mundane or spiritual kind; and in the instruction of youths; legends, myths, and ancestral heroes, possibly also divine intervention, provide a plausible justification for tribal usage. Savage boyhood has its unwritten constitutional history, which is studied in order to bring the individual into conformity with his social and political environment, a point frequently dwelt upon in the philosophies of Aristotle and Plato. In his enforcement of restrictions for adolescent boys and girls, primitive man is a forerunner of Democritus, a contemporary of Socrates, who urged that happiness depends on moderation and limitation of desire.

Primitive man has never known the mediaeval tendency to substitute learning from books for education, a word implying the drawing out of faculties. The methods of people in a rudimentary stage of development are decidedly reminiscent of the strong naturalistic reaction which set in against the stereotyped learning of classical models. As

early as the period of 1483–1553 Rabelais was urging the value of direct personal observation, spontaneous activity, and unrepressed individuality. Montaigne (1533–1592) took a similar line of thought, and still later in the period 1712–1778 the works of Rousseau originated a strong educational current settling toward the shore of personal freedom in the acquisition of knowledge. True it is that Rousseau created a model, and therefore somewhat unnatural pupil, " Emile," whose education at the hands of a private tutor alienated him from the essential training and stimulation afforded by contact with boys of his own age. The strongly operating gregarious tendency of primitive man has prevented isolated education of individuals; the initiates are brought together in such a way as to stimulate competition and a desire to excel.

There is for the student of evolution in educational methods some interest in noting that primitive man very readily discards his naturalistic system when brought into contact with more erudite peoples who rely on information gleaned from books. The Shans of Burma now laboriously memorise Buddhist texts. Hindus of the Brahmin caste learn astonishingly long extracts from the great epics Mahabharata and Ramayana. Chinese youths are qualified for public service almost entirely by their ability to memorise sacred and legal texts. When Muhammedanism gains a hold over Africans, Malays, or other primitive races, the first stage in the education of the novices is a dreary intonation of extracts from the Koran.

The system of training in primitive society is undoubtedly very stereotyped, but there is nevertheless a recognition of special ability in both boys and girls, whose talents may be used for communal benefit. Psychic gifts are employed for the purpose of medical healing, divination, prophecy, and priestly mediation. Skill in handicraft is conserved by associating occupations with particular families, a

practice open to objection, of course, on the grounds that many talented youths may be excluded from a particular trade. The evidence adduced in parts of this work dealing with the specialised education of boys and girls shows that the selective and educational system of primitive man possesses an elasticity and power of adaptation for which due credit has not been accorded.

In the Middle Ages women fought determinedly but without success to maintain membership of Craft Guilds [1] and only at the present moment are we breaking away from the primitive ideal of woman as a bearer of children and a domestic asset. The physical superiority of the average man over the average woman, combined with sensitiveness and strongly-developed emotional tendencies of females, has laid the foundation of a widespread belief in the mental superiority of man.[2] Physical education of the right kind in connection with schools, and happily also in conjunction with welfare departments of factories under a management endowed with ideals, has done much to remove the physical disabilities under which women have suffered. The athletic girl will tend to be less emotional than the Early Victorian model of blushing and retiring propriety, and in general there is rather more than a forecast of the emancipation of woman from the position into which a militant organisation of society thrust her.

A study of the manner in which the subconsciousness of child life is affected by traditions, stories, examples of tribal elders, trials by ordeal and combat, also by punishments, deals with an aspect of moral and religious teaching the importance of which has been recognised only in comparatively recent years.

It is now fully realised that boys and girls are influenced

[1] Dr. F. Müller Lyer, "History of Social Development," 1920, p. 221.

[2] "Warlike communities are responsible for subjection of women. . . . Prior to the rise of pugnacious relationships women had been on an equality with men." Perry's "Origin of Magic and Religion," 1923, p. 115.

by the personality and sportsmanlike qualities of instructors, so that mere academic distinction is not the sole qualification for child training. The comradeship of school life, the teaching of history, geography, and literary subjects by modern methods, is the result of applied psychology. The study of behaviour, a somewhat broad definition of psychology, shows that actions result from ideas which are readily impressed on the subconscious self by indirect methods. Early educationists up to and beyond the Mid-Victorian period attached great value to stories of model children, or to distressing accounts of the dire results which formed a natural sequence to disobedience or a falsehood. Most of us can recollect the insipid stories of immaculate children who never said prayers in bed, not even after a busy day spent in alms-giving, or making inquiries from a well-informed uncle who thrust upon their attention his encyclopædic knowledge of subjects ranging from the making of butter to the manufacture of coal gas.

We have said good-bye to these methods, but in our new world of education along unobtrusive lines we are unconsciously adopting the method of our primitive contemporaries, who never weary of tales told around the camp fire by an experienced narrator, or even by the rank and file of the tribe. In turning to a modern work on principles of education we find that moral training should depend on inculcation of habits of regularity and obedience, while the value of stories is emphasised.[1] Professor Welton has remarked that "as communities became more organised the conception of the child as the future citizen became dominant." [2]

A study of primitive society leaves the impression that social obligations form the core of all teaching given by tribal elders. The departure from ideals of social solidarity

[1] Adler's "The Moral Instruction of Children," pp. 47, 63 *et seq.*
[2] Welton's "Principles and Methods of Teaching," p. 6.

in a large sense, and apart from racial or political considerations, is apparent at the present time, when each section of workers fights grimly for privilege and precedence while the industrial fabric is strained to its utmost tension.

The ideals and methods of primitive man are open to many objections, but beyond doubt they do tend to qualify the individual for his environment, and in so doing people of rudimentary culture have forged, and still are forging in the educational chain links which modern pedagogues might study with advantage both to themselves and primitive races under British rule. At home we suffer from lack of an ideal in education, we have not yet been able to adjust the claims of utilitarians and idealists, while questions of finance form a "skeleton in the cupboard," which is exposed when the door of educational controversy is thrown wide open.

The question of educating primitive races either with secular or religious ideas, or both, offers a field for discussion among theologians, administrators, and employers of native labour. By the time the subjects of child welfare and the right kinds of education for primitive races have been thoroughly discussed, the necessity for education of any kind will be negligible, for the rapidly declining native population in many parts of the world will be extinct. In South Africa the increase of native population raises questions of utmost social and economic importance. Probably a system of industrial training, combined with instruction in agriculture and forestry, would be most profitable to primitive peoples. On the non-material side, it may be said that the foregoing chapters show a good culture medium of primitive ideas and ideals, into which a social reformer and religious teacher of wide outlook might introduce rudiments of still more lofty and noble conceptions.

Professor Hobhouse has cogently urged that there is a tendency, first toward adaptation to environment, while at a

later stage in evolution, human and otherwise, there is an attempt to mould the environment.[1] Former environments are passing, and in order to preserve primitive man from extinction resulting from social and physical chaos, modern philanthropists must supply the power of assisting native races to fulfil the triple task of changing their mental, social, and religious environment so as to bring it into rhythm with the march of modern civilisation. At the same time, primitive man must be shown how to preserve himself by adaptation to new physical conditions arising from the introduction of clothing, and the necessity for new and more sanitary camping accommodation. A condition necessary for success along these lines is the adoption of a policy of non-interference with harmless native institutions.

Much has been said concerning the limited mental power of negroes who reach a zenith of training at an early age, usually puberty, after which the mentality is said to be stationary. The Rev. H. Junod thinks such assertions very exaggerated, and in speaking of the Ba Thonga says: "In all our institutions we have pupils who show great zeal for study and increased intellectual power between the ages of sixteen and twenty years." [2] My own experience of Sudanese boys left me with the impression that up to the age of fourteen years they were vivacious and intelligent.

Without paying prolonged attention to academic discussions relating to questions of the indigenous or acquired nature of primitive systems of education, a worker among backward races may take encouragement from the fact that nowhere is there entire absence of ideas of morality.[3] Opinions of right and wrong differ vastly, standards vary from tribe to tribe, but nowhere is the philanthropist without some existing moral culture to which appeal can be made.

[1] "Mind in Evolution," London, 1901, p. 402.

[2] "The Life of a South African Tribe," vol. i, p. 100.

[3] Westermarck's "The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas," p. 742 *et seq.*

The appeal will not successfully be made by ritualistic teaching or preaching the saving grace of this or that belief. It may, however, be accomplished by a social and religious reformer who possesses, not merely enthusiasm, but also a sound psychological and anthropological training.

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